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THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
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## ECONOMIC CHANGES IN ST. HELENA'S PARISH, 1860-1870<sup>1</sup>

By HERMINE MUNZ BAUMHOFER

*The National Archives*

The economic and social upheaval caused in the Southern cotton planting and slave owning regions through the effect of the War Between the States, can in part be illustrated by a comparison of the census figures in 1860 and 1870 in a small district in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. The locality chosen was St. Helena's Parish, that in 1860 contained all the land bounded by the Broad River, the Coosaw River and the Atlantic Ocean. The heart of the Parish was the town of Beaufort.

Beaufort at the present time is much as it was eighty years ago when Sam Cooley photographed many of the houses and all of the military quarters for the Quartermaster General's Office. The town lies on a peninsula bordered by marshes and is gently washed on three sides by brackish water that exposes old oyster shell beds as the tide recedes. Most of the streets are covered with fine sand, deadening street noises. Mocking birds may be seen in the middle of the quiet streets, dusting themselves, switching their tails and flying off only if the driver of the car or cart insists on passing. The most striking characteristic of the town is the great number of large

### <sup>1</sup>Manuscript sources:

National Archives Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census.

Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule No. 1 (Free Inhabitants), South Carolina, St. Helena Parish in the District of Beaufort, Vol. 2, pages 1-28.

Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule No. 2 (Slave Inhabitants), South Carolina, St. Helena Parish in the District of Beaufort, Vol. 2, pages 1-96.

Ninth Census (1870), South Carolina, Beaufort Township in the County of Beaufort, Vol. 3, pages 1-138.

Ninth Census (1870), South Carolina, St. Helena Township in the County of Beaufort, Vol. 3, pages 1-155.

National Archives Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General Staff.

Photographs made by Sam Cooley for the Office of Quartermaster General in Beaufort and surrounding areas, c. 1861-1864.

### Printed sources:

Population of the United States in 1860. Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census by Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent of Census. Washington, 1864.

The Statistics of the Population of the United States. Compiled from the original returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870) by Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of Census. Washington, 1872.

School Acres, by Rossa Belle Cooley. New Haven, 1930.

A Social History of the Sea Islands, by Guion (Griffis) Johnson, Chapel Hill, 1930.

white houses with deep verandas. Many have enormous pillars, fine fan lights and decorative detail, possible only in localities where money and labor are available. Many of the houses are wood with tabby under-structures, that once were used as service quarters. The graceful stairs leading up to the veranda and the entrance, are frequently of marble. Most of these were built between 1820 and 1860 by planters from the surrounding country who moved to town during the summer because of the sickly season in the low-lying plantations. The houses are the legacy of the period when the growing of long-staple cotton and the culture of rice made this an unusually wealthy district. These crops made possible a concentration of the true plantation system, with all the economic self-sufficiency, the charm and grace of living usually ascribed to it. The change brought about by the war was more dramatic than in many other Southern areas, just for the reason that the area was an undiluted sample of the aristocratic agrarian culture. The emancipation of the slaves created therefore, besides the immediate social problems, also an economic dislocation by the complete change that became necessary in the agricultural system. To this was added a more direct and violent dislocation in the occupation of the area by Union troops on a fateful day in November 1861, when more than forty steamers and gunboats entered Port Royal Sound and threatened Beaufort. General Sherman reported that all the wealthy islands surrounding Beaufort were abandoned by the white population and that the beautiful estates of the planters, with all their immense properties, were left to the pillage of hordes of apparently disaffected black people.

The condition at that moment was similar to a volcanic eruption. The 7,600 slaves, unused to living an independent life, previously integrated in a tight and well-defined plantation system, boiled up to the surface. They were not able to help themselves, and their problems puzzled and discomfited the military administration.

The occupying forces wanted the land under production; the cotton for which the North had dire need, had to be sowed and harvested. It was hoped that the Negro could be provided for in these necessary activities with which he was familiar. Cotton agents were appointed to handle the harvesting and the sale of the cotton. They were to employ the Negroes and pay them wages. This program did not work out. The ginning of the cotton was delayed because much of the machinery had been destroyed by the slaves in the first delirium of their freedom. The former slaves were unused also to the idea of wages and none too happy to work for a new master. Wages were not paid promptly and frequently in credit rather than cash.

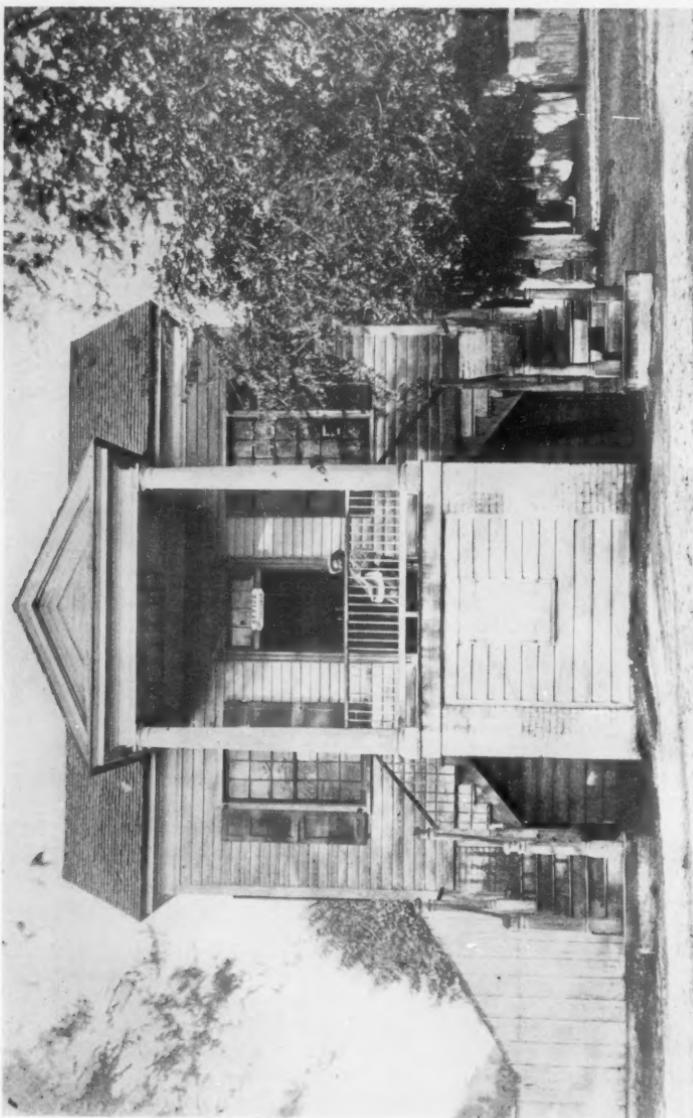
It became evident that a program of education was needed to assist



*Photo by Sam Cooley, November 1864, for Quartermaster General. Courtesy of National Archives*

**FEDERAL HEADQUARTERS, Beaufort, 1864**

Built about 1800 by John Mark Verdier, now owned by Trustees of Beaufort College and Beaufort Historical Society. Lafayette spoke from the portico in 1825



*Photo by Sam Cooley, November 1864, for Quartermaster General. Courtesy of National Archives*

**OFFICE FOR FREEDMEN**

The "Old Council House", which formerly stood on the site of the present Beaufort Township Library

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the Negro to fit himself into a new economic system. Typically enough, a young abolitionist from Boston, Edward L. Pierce, suggested a plan to the Government which included provisions for this much-needed education. Carefully chosen young men were to be appointed as superintendents of the plantations and were to run them for the Government. They were to employ Negroes and prepare them at the same time for their new status as free citizens. The Negroes were to receive standard wages and rations. The instruction of the Negroes was to be provided by missionaries and teachers from the abolitionist North. This was put into effect and many men and women, mostly from the New England states, came with great enthusiasm and courage. The job they tackled was of such magnitude that it was almost predestined to fail. Many of them did not comprehend the social significance of their mission, nor did they always use good judgement in choosing the instruction that the Negro most needed. Some of them tried with great enthusiasm to indoctrinate their new charges with French, Latin, and similar academic subjects dear to the heart of intellectual New Englanders. But some seeds sown at that time flourished for the great good of the Negro community. Penn School on St. Helena's Island is still visible evidence of the wisdom, fortitude and perseverance of two of these young women. They soon realized that it was necessary to help the Negro to find his place in his own rural environment rather than to train him for an urban and, to him, foreign civilization.

The plan of superintendency, suggested by Pierce, did not prove successful. Many of the young men found enthusiasm no substitute for agricultural know-how in the cultivation of a specialized crop. The Negroes were still unable to cope with the system of wages. Many of them were recruited from the plantation into the army. No satisfactory solution of the Negro's problem was reached until it became possible for him to buy his own land. This opportunity came in a rather circuitous way. In order to raise the heavy tax quota for South Carolina, levied by Congress to pay for the conduct of the war, the property of the absent planters in the occupied areas was sold for non-payment of taxes. About one third of the land in and around Beaufort was sold to Northern people. The remainder was bought up by the Government. Some of it was set aside for military, naval, and educational projects. The remainder was opened to purchase by the Negroes. The land was to be surveyed in 20-acre plots and was to be sold, one plot to each head of a family. The minimum cost per acre was to be \$1.25. The actual cost for the most part was higher, especially for cultivated land. The purchase money had been earned principally by work on the plantations or for the army at Beaufort or Hilton Head. The result of this opportunity given to the Negro, may be clearly seen in the census figures for 1870.

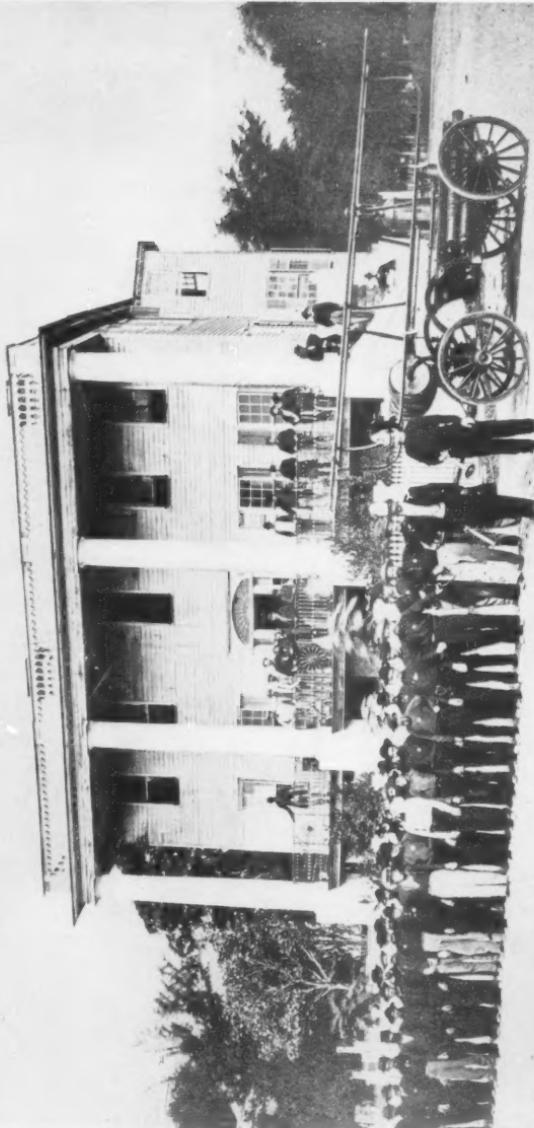
The great change that took place in the rural areas was matched in the urban centers. The Headquarters of the Army of the South at Hilton Head brought great activity to the surrounding areas. The town of Beaufort, completely deserted by all the white occupants with the exception of a few northern-born citizens, was filled with Union soldiers. Sam Cooley's work gives us a clear picture of the manifold activities of the period. There is the potash plant and the temporary buildings such as stables, barracks, and warehouses. Sixteen of the largest residences are shown as hospitals. A large cemetery on the outskirts of the town became the last resting place for 10,000 Union soldiers. To cater to the needs of the military forces and to carry on the necessary commercial activities, people came from the North in large numbers. By 1870 the occupying forces had withdrawn, but only a few of the former owners had returned to resume their former occupations. They could not re-acquire their homes until after 1870, when they were allowed to buy if they were financially able. In order to get a complete picture of the change, it is necessary to study the census figures showing the nativity of the population, its real estate holdings, the personal property holdings and the occupations of the citizens in 1860 and 1870.

The population of St. Helena's Parish in 1860 consisted of 1062 white individuals, 29 free colored, and 7,644 slaves. The 1062 white persons included 65 born outside of the United States<sup>2</sup> and 39 born outside the State of South Carolina. These figures seem to indicate that the area was extremely stable, in fact, somewhat isolated. The percentage of foreign born is low at a time when other areas show from seven to fifteen per cent of the population as foreign born. The percentage of foreign born is almost infinitesimal if considered for the total of the population, both black and white. The immigrants, in line with the national pattern for the period, came principally from Germany and England. Their occupations indicate that they came from the middle and lower middle class. There was not the great

<sup>2</sup> NATIVITY OF FOREIGN BORN, St. Helena's Parish, 1860

In 1860 St. Helena's Parish consisted of all the land bounded by the Broad River, the Coosaw River and the Atlantic Ocean. This area contained Beaufort which was not the courthouse town for Beaufort District in 1860.

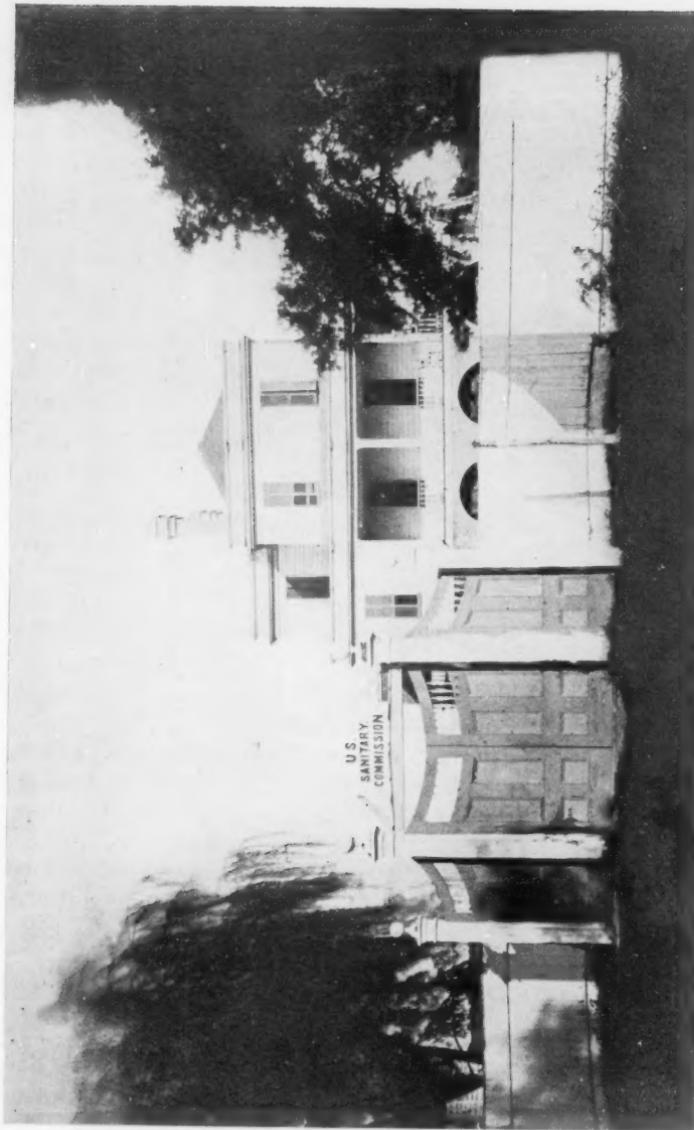
<i>No. of</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Occupation of head of household</i>
Germany	38	Overseer, 4 shopkeepers, music teacher, tinsmith, baker	
France	4	Vine dresser, saddler, shopkeeper	
England	12	Planter, 2 ship captains, tailor, carpenter, painter	
Ireland	7	Drayman, teacher, clerk, lighthouse keeper, lightship (tender?)	
China	1	...	
Scotland	3	Manager, Baptist minister, farmer.	



*Photo by Sam Cooley, December 1864, for Quartermaster General. Courtesy of National Archives*

**FEDERAL HOSPITAL No. 15**

Said to have been built shortly before the Civil War by Dr. Jenkins; now the Holmes Apartments A veranda has been added to the second floor



*Photo by Sam Cooley, November 1861, for Quartermaster General. Courtesy of National Archives*

**FEDERAL SANITARY COMMISSION**

*Built in 1812 by Dr. James Verdier, now owned by Sterling Harris. Featured by Francis Griswold in his novel, *Sea  
Fever*.*

influx of unskilled laborers from Ireland that is found in many areas, nor of the new industrial textile workers that came from England to other parts of the country. The persons born outside the state but within the United States, came from 13 different states and no special pattern was noted.

In 1870 the white population decreased to 600 persons. Of these 81 were foreign born.<sup>3</sup> The pattern of the immigrants was the same as in 1860. Outside the State of South Carolina, but within the United States, there were born 348 individuals, a sharp increase from the previous decade. Of these 55 came from Massachusetts. The occupations of the family heads coming from that state were given as follows: six planters, four farmers, one merchant, one physician, one sculptor, one clerk and one grocer. From New York came 45 individuals, a real estate broker, a bank cashier, three grocers, a drygoods merchant, a civil engineer, and several clerks. The Maine contingent of 29 consisted in part of merchants, grocers, and a marine captain. Georgetown, D.C., sent a restaurateur and his family. It is interesting to note that many of the merchants from Austria and Germany had wives and children born in the New England states. They represent therefore an addition to the influx from the North.

<sup>3</sup> NATIVITY OF FOREIGN BORN, Beaufort Township and St. Helena's Parish, 1870

In 1870 Beaufort was the county seat and was separated from St. Helena's Parish and reported in the Census as Beaufort Township. For purposes of comparison it is therefore necessary to take the Census reports for both localities.

Country	No. of Immigrants	Occupations of head of household
Canada	2	Farmers
India	1	Housekeeper (Her name was Refury Madam)
Ireland	12	Boatbuilder, drygoods merchant, blacksmith, wheelwright, jailer
Switzerland	2	Engineer, soda-water manufacturer
England	14	Sailor, 2 grocers, sea captain, 2 farmers, County Sheriff
Denmark	3	Carpenter, keeper of National Cemetery
Scotland	2	Planter
Barbadoes	1	Teacher
France	5	Grocer
Austria	2	Cotton merchant, tailor
Prussia	9	Drygoods merchant, 2 planters, tailor, miller, butcher, domestic servant
Hesse-Darm- stadt	2	Baker, domestic servant
Bremen	2	Mill engineer
Baden	9	Drygoods merchant, bootmaker, clerk, tin smith, domestic servant
Bavaria	5	Grocer
Hanover	10	Grocer, 2 clerks, baker, cart driver, cabinet maker

In 1860 the census recorded 29 free colored individuals. Their occupations were as follows: tailor, pastry cook, carpenters, mantua makers, seamstress, midwife, bricklayer and washerwoman. The number of slaves reported in 1860 was 7,644, or an average of seven slaves for each white person in the Parish.

In 1870 the number of colored people rose to 11,063, or an increase of 3,390 over 1860. Of these 132 were Negro farmers and farm laborers from the adjoining states of Georgia and Florida. It seems therefore that this sharp increase represented in part Negroes from other parts of South Carolina, who drifted to the Sea Islands during the war in order to gain their freedom and the chance to own land.

The most startling change from one decade to the other becomes evident when we study the figures on real estate holdings and personal property. In 1860 the real estate owned in the Parish amounted to \$1,927,550. From the manner in which the owners declared their holdings, it may be gathered that the area was of an optimistic, if not bullish frame of mind in 1860. Usually the amount was given in round numbers. There is infrequently a breakdown by hundred dollars. This contrasted sharply with other parts of the country as revealed in census volumes from the same period. The casual use of large round numbers gives the feeling of an abundance and optimism, little warranted by coming developments. The real estate in 1860 was owned by 209 individuals out of a total population of 8,735, including the slaves. This figure is irrespective of occupations. *Each of the 209 individuals owned an average of \$9,223 worth of land.*

In 1870 the real estate value declared in the area decreased to \$1,022,851. This was in part due to the appropriation of some of the land for Government use. There was also a drop in land values, undoubtedly due to the disintegration of the agricultural system and the uncertain prospects for the future. A general decline of land values can be noted for South Carolina and other Southern states. Some of the land in the area that was to be sold for taxes found no buyers in Beaufort until the middle seventies; the Government then allowed some of the former owners to purchase. The significant fact is, however, that instead of 209 landowners, all of them white, there were in 1870 a total of 1233 landowners, and the large majority were colored farmers. *Each of the 1233 landowners owned an average of \$829 worth of land.* This is indeed a change from the tenure of the previous decade.

The figure for personal property in 1860 was \$5,271,050. This of course represented to a great extent the value of the 7,644 slaves owned in the area. Therefore it is not astonishing that this figure shrank enormously, and by the following decade, it amounted only to \$102,635. This decrease, however, was out of all proportion with the decrease noted for the

State of South Carolina as a whole. Of course the shrinkage was due in part to the great destruction caused by the war, the occupation, and the deterioration caused by irresponsible Negroes after their masters departed. But the sudden melting away of the value of the enormous capital investment represented by slaves may also have had a psychological effect. The enduring value of any property, with the possible exception of land, becomes doubtful under chaotic conditions and this may have reflected itself in the property valuation. As in every period of panic, land was considered to have the only true value.

When we study the facts concerning occupations for the two census years, the social change from an aristocratic agrarian culture to a lower middle class culture becomes evident.<sup>4</sup> The new culture was still agrarian,

<sup>4</sup> OCCUPATIONS, St. Helena's Parish, 1860

<i>Local Administration:</i>	<i>Real Estate</i>	<i>Personal Property</i>
1 Police Officer	\$800	\$1,500
1 Matron of Female Asylum	100	15,000
<i>Agriculture:</i>		
120 Planters	1,293,550	3,391,100
1 Farmer (apparently an iconoclast!)	6,500	13,000
<i>Agriculture combined with a profession:</i>		
15 Physicians and planters	301,600	807,000
4 Lawyers and planters	32,000	80,000
3 Episcopal Ministers and planters	45,000	205,000
1 Baptist Minister and planter	20,000	40,000
1 Merchant and planter	12,000	33,000
<i>Professions:</i>		
1 Episcopal minister	1,000	15,000
1 Methodist minister		2,000
2 Baptist clergymen		4,500
11 Physicians	32,000	37,000
1 Surgeon, U. S. Navy	...	...
1 Dentist	1,500	1,500
4 Lawyers	15,000	26,400
8 Teachers	1,500	6,000
1 Music teacher		1,000
37 Students	8,000	36,500
2 Artists		2,000
<i>Sea-faring and related occupations:</i>		
1 Ship captain	4,000	5,000
1 Pilot	...	...
1 Ship carpenter		1,500
2 Boat builders	3,600	8,700
1 Sailor	...	...
3 Lighthouse keepers		...
2 Lightship (presumably captains or tenders)		...

but showed a wider diversification of occupations and a more evenly distributed, but also a much reduced total of holdings and property. The expanding activities of the Federal Government are indicated by the presence of a post master, an internal revenue collector, an internal revenue assessor, and a keeper of the National Cemetery. Between 1860 and 1870 Beaufort became the county seat, and we find in 1870 the addition of a County Administration, with heavy emphasis on policing aspects. There were noted a high number of jail and poorhouse inmates, all but two

	<i>Real Estate</i>	<i>Personal Property</i>
<i>Business:</i>		
9 Merchants	15,500	85,000
13 Storekeepers	8,000	15,400
1 Shopkeeper and baker	1,800	2,000
7 Clerks		
<i>Crafts and skilled workers:</i>		
1 Builder	7,000	22,000
14 Carpenters	13,300	24,100
1 Engineer and miller		500
6 Blacksmiths	2,000	13,000
1 Vine dresser		1,000
1 Brassfounder	1,000	500
7 Bakers	4,500	5,000
1 Butcher	3,000	7,000
1 Engineer		
3 Tinsmiths	6,000	5,000
3 Shoemakers		2,000
2 Wheelrights	1,000	1,500
1 Saddler	2,000	2,000
5 Bricklayers	5,500	11,500
2 Carriage makers	800	2,000
4 Tailors	2,500	3,500
1 Painter		1,000
1 Pastry cook	500	
2 Mantua makers	800	200
3 Seamstresses		
<i>Unskilled:</i>		
1 Laborer		200
2 Draymen		
1 Drover		1,000
1 Stage driver		
<i>Overseers and managers:</i>		
6 Overseers	3,500	16,000
2 Managers		3,000
<i>Unoccupied or widows owning real estate:</i>		
8 Widows	9,700	9,100
36 Unoccupied	65,000	314,850

colored, indicative of the social dislocation and post-war lack of adjustment. On the other hand, and of significance for that time, the area boasted a school commissioner, undoubtedly the lasting influence of the educational projects undertaken during the sixties.

The change in the agricultural picture has been touched upon. The land in 1870 was held by 1233 persons in contrast to 209 in 1860. The individual holdings had decreased in value from an average of \$9,223 to \$829. The value of the land had been reduced almost by half during the decade. In 1860, of the 121 individuals who described themselves as planters and farmers, only 111 owned land. This was not an indication of tenancy, however, since the ten planters without land could easily be identified as the younger sons on their father's plantations. In 1870, however, 1933 individuals described themselves as farmers and planters, but only 957 of them owned land. Since slightly more than 50 per cent of the farmers were landless, the indications are that those without land were tenants. Likewise in some counties of Maryland, in the same period, the tenancy figures were found to be around 50 per cent, but the land in that region was not as rich as the Sea Island area. On the other hand, in those Maryland counties, there had not been the heavy dependence on slaves under the agricultural system. The figures for 1870 in the war-ravaged region must be considered quite abnormal, but the indication of a high tenancy rate is characteristic of the post-war development in the South. Although land was more evenly distributed, the plantation field hand was apt to become the farm tenant or sharecropper in the new system of agriculture and thus still lack economic emancipation.

Another aspect of the agricultural situation is noted in the high number of farm laborers recorded in the census of 1870. With reduced land values and wider distribution of acreage, there are 3029 farm laborers for this small area. This number may be somewhat arbitrary. It is an idiosyncrasy of many census takers to consider as farm laborer anyone who can hold a hoe or pick cotton. The census taker therefore often marks as farm laborer any minor from the age of six. If children under 12 years of age are not counted, this being the minimum age at which a child can be economically useful with any consistency, the number arrived at is 3029; this is still extremely high and shows that the Negro had not yet adjusted to jobs other than those he knew before emancipation, and that many a Negro field hand was still a field hand on someone else's land. The number, of course, reflects as well the lack of opportunity to convert to other occupations in non-agricultural fields.

In 1860 the census showed individuals who combined a profession or a business with planting. Although in other areas it may be seen that professional people and business men invested heavily in land, there is

little indication that they actually operated farms themselves. But in the area under consideration there were fifteen physicians who were also planters on a rather large scale, four lawyers and planters, and the very unusual phenomenon of wealthy Episcopal and Baptist ministers who also described themselves as planters. That a planter should also be a physician is not extraordinary, since he might have a very large capital investment in slaves and it was essential that their good health should be one of his first concerns. As might be expected, this category of professional activities combined with agricultural pursuits disappeared in 1870. In the same way there fell away the category of managers and overseers. Agriculture was no longer big business in 1870.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> OCCUPATIONS, Beaufort Township and St. Helena's Parish, 1870

	Real Estate	Personal Property
<i>Federal Administration:</i>		
1 Postmaster		
1 Custom House Clerk	\$3,000	...
1 Internal Revenue Assessor		\$340
1 Internal Revenue Collector		150
1 Keeper of the National Cemetery		
<i>County Administration:</i>		
1 County Auditor	5,000	500
1 Clerk of County Court	4,500	150
1 County Sheriff	25,000	9,200
1 Jailer (Mick McGuire from Ireland)		
1 Town Marshall	1,000	150
1 Trial Justice		600
1 School Commissioner	600	200
67 Inmates of Jail and Poorhouse (2 whites)		
<i>Agriculture:</i>		
25 Planters	123,200	13,750
1908 Farmers	571,330	3,580
3029 Farm laborers	50,335	415
<i>Professions:</i>		
10 Physicians	14,800	1,350
6 Lawyers	6,500	200
11 Teachers	1,000	550
5 Preachers (denomination unspecified)	750	500
1 Druggist	1,500	500
2 Civil Engineers	350	
1 Engineer	5,500	1,100
1 Mill Engineer	200	
1 Sculptor		
1 Photographer (wife of preacher)		
2 Nurses		
<i>Sea-faring and related occupations:</i>		
1 Marine Captain		3,000
4 Sea captains		
4 Fishermen		

If the rural areas changed radically in one decade, so did the urban areas. The planter of 1860 conducted his business through factors in port cities like Charleston. His plantations were self-sufficient and produced all the

6 Sailors	650	
1 Boatbuilder	500	
1 Agent of Steam Boat Company		
1 Ferryman	50	
3 Pilots (only one owned property, worth \$7,000, Robt. Smalls, a negro, and possibly the future Congressman)	6,000	1,000
1 Ship carpenter	350	150

*Business:*

10 Drygoods merchants	37,000	14,100
3 Cotton merchants	5,700	9,500
3 Merchants	15,000	1,800
3 Lumber merchants	9,000	1,200
1 Grain merchant	7,000	300
1 Cotton packer		
21 Grocers	42,876	16,650
22 Clerks	3,000	450
1 Cashier of Bank		500
1 Restaurateur	2,700	400
1 Broker	200	1,500
1 Soda water manufacturer		500
1 Real estate broker	100	500
1 Agent for Insurance Co. (of course from Connecticut)	7,000	1,000

1 Agent for Railroad Co.

*Crafts and skilled workers:*

47 Carpenters	9,900	600
10 Blacksmiths	550	
4 Millers	1,300	850
5 Butchers	1,000	200
5 Bootmakers	200	100
2 Wheelwrights		
5 Bakers		900
8 Tailors	10,900	2,300
1 Pastry Cook		
1 Cabinet maker	1,000	300
10 Seamstresses	350	
4 Mantua makers		
1 Cooper	200	
8 Painters	1,100	200
3 Tinsmiths		300
2 Barbers		
2 Watchmakers		400
1 Machinist	900	8,000
8 Brick masons	4,750	550

food needed; his slaves were skilled craftsmen, and the planter needed relatively little outside help, with the exception of physicians. These were retained in the manner resembling health insurance, since the planter often paid the physician a flat annual rate per number of slaves. The planter's sons had leisure for study. A music teacher and two artists, whose special fields the census did not mention, undoubtedly added to the rich and leisurely way of life.

In studying the make-up of the urban population in 1870, we note immediately that the number of professional people has been reduced from 93 in 1860 to 41 in 1870. The figure is somewhat misleading since in 1860 there were included in this category 37 students. But there are fewer physicians and ministers, and in spite of the establishment of a county administration, there are fewer lawyers, although the time must have been ripe for litigation. The music teacher, the students and artists are gone. The lone sculptor listed undoubtedly made headstones for the cemetery. Life was harder and there was not much time and money for spiritual and intellectual pursuits. The number of teachers, however, increased from eight to eleven, a result of the impetus given to educational projects during the war.

Business became modern by 1870 with the presence of a real estate broker, insurance agent, railroad agent and a bank. The number of men engaged in business increased from 30 to 71. These in part replaced the factor in distant Charleston. A great number of business men and merchants came, some from the North, some from Europe. A few undoubtedly came to fish in the disturbed waters for quick profits. Others came to provision the army, others again established shops and stores to sell the necessities formerly produced or made on the plantations. There were by 1870 a great number of grocery stores and drygoods stores for which no need had existed ten years before.

Craftsmen and skilled workers increased from 60 to 127. In 1860 many of these were the choice slaves on plantations but in 1870 many carpenters

	Real Estate	Personal Property
<i>Unskilled:</i>		
160 Domestic Servants	1,060	250
1 Carter		
1 Stage driver		
1 Cart driver		
12 Washerwomen		
1 Drayman	300	
1 Porter	800	
1 Teamster		
1 Gardener		
<i>Unoccupied</i>		
31 Unoccupied	36,850	3,100

ters, blacksmiths, and seamstresses were on their own and competed with the white craftsmen who predominated in the earlier decade. Although the number of skilled workers increased, the variety of occupations did not. There is no evidence of industrial activity, not even in the textile field. The one brassfounder listed in 1860 disappeared. The greatest percentage of apparent change in the urban population is in the number of unskilled workers. In 1860 there were only five, but in 1870 there were 179. Of these 160 were domestic servants. This is not so much a sign of luxury as an indication that the favorite house servants of the pre-war period stayed with their former owners even after emancipation. It can be noted that in two or three households there were many black servants who took their master's name and still lived with "their" families, although the property holdings of the family give little indication that it could afford to keep domestics.

The study of dry census figures points in many ways to the cultural and economic change that took place in this small area. The new culture was still agrarian, but the land was held by many more individuals and the holdings were greatly reduced in size and value. The standard of living was sharply reduced. Beaufort had become the service center for the surrounding area, supplanting distant Charleston. It is true that the Sea Islands recaptured some of their former prosperity, but the standard of living was never again so high for the few. At the same time the larger part of the population had gained freedom and enlarged opportunities along with the responsibilities that accompanied this new life.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE  
CITY GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON, S.C.

Contributed by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

*(Continued from October)*

A Jury of Inquest was empanelled yesterday morning about 9 o'clock, in Elliott-street, to inquire into the cause or causes which led to the death of Mary Barker, aged about 35 years. From the evidence adduced to the Jury, they brought in the verdict that she came to her death by Intemperance. John Michel, Coroner For the Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael. (Tuesday, September 10, 1822)

Died, at the Naval Hospital in Gosport, on the 31st ult. Mr. Edwin B. Newton, midshipman of the U. S. navy, and recently attached to the U. S. ship Hornet. He was a native of Alexandria (D. C.) and entered the service the 1st January, 1819 . . . his death is a source of deep sorrow to the whole ship's company by whom he was held in high estimation. (Tuesday, September 10, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Knauff, and of Mr. & Mrs. Johnson, are particularly requested to attend the Funeral of Caroline E. the daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Johnson, from their residence corner of Wolf and Meeting-streets This Morning at 8 o'clock without further invitation. (Wednesday, September 11, 1822)

A Jury of Inquest was empanelled yesterday morning at 10 o'clock to inquire into the cause or causes which led to the death of Thomas Barrett, a native of Philadelphia, aged 24 years, one of the crew of the ship Gov. Hawkins, lying at Edmondston's Wharf. . . . The Jury brought in their verdict, that the deceased came to his death by an accidental fall in the dock in a state of intoxication.

John Michel, Coroner, For the Parishes St. Philip and St. Michael. (Thursday, September 12, 1822)

Death of Colonel Laval—We have just learnt by a letter from Harper's Ferry, (Virg.) dated Sept 2d, of the death of Colonel Jacint Laval, our respected and excellent fellow-citizen. He was in the office of military store-keeper at Harper's Ferry—and a few days since was seized with bilious fever. Col. Laval came originally from France, with the celebrated LaFayette: he was a man of sterling courage and ability, has served his

adopted country with fidelity, and reaped many a laurel in the field of honour. (Thursday, September 12, 1822)

Married, on Thursday evening last, by the Reverend Mr. Bachman, Jacob F. Mintzing, Esq., to Miss Elizabeth Muckenfuss; all of this City. (Saturday, September 14, 1822)

[Died] . . . our young townsman, Peter Timothy, Esq., who departed this life on the 8th inst. after a short illness of highly bilious fever, in the 29th year of his age. . . . He received a classical education in Princeton College (N. J.) and returned to his native city in the year 1812, about which time he commenced the study of Law, to the practice of which he was admitted in the year 1816. This profession was after a short period abandoned and his time in conjunction with his brother, devoted to their mutual agricultural interests. . . . To the brother, with whom an affection even stronger than the calls of nature had united him, who shall speak the language of consolation? And to the widowed mother, still doating in the ignorance of her misfortune, who shall bear the heart-rending communication, that her hopes are lost—for the son whose pious and filial devotion was to have cheered the evening of her days, no longer moves among the living? [long eulogy] (Saturday September 14, 1822)

Died at Cheraw, on the 25th ult. Mr. John A. Prentis, after a short illness. (Saturday, September 14, 1822)

[Died] on the 3d inst. Mr.—Campbell, late from Fayetteville, after 4 days illness. (Saturday September 14, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Dr. Alexis Decarendefferz, and of John Menude, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, from his late residence, No. 95 King Street, This Morning at 10 o'clock. (Saturday, September 14, 1822)

The Members of the Medical Society of this city, and the Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society are invited to attend the Funeral of the late Dr. Alexis Decarendefferz. This Morning at 10 o'clock, from his late residence. No. 96 King-street. (Saturday, September 14, 1822)

A Jury of Inquest was held at the Fort on Sullivan's island, on Saturday Afternoon the 14th inst. upon the body of Michael Kaine, a native of Ireland, a recruit lately arrived from New York, belonging to the Artillery Corps, about 30 years of age. The Jury brought in a verdict that the

deceased came to his death by accidental drowning in a fit of intoxication. J. H. Stevens Coroner of Charleston district. (Monday, September 16, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. & Mrs. Alex. Ballund, and the Members of the German Lutheran Church, also the Children of the Sunday School are requested to attend the Funeral of their daughter Ann, at their residence No. 133 King-street. This Afternoon at 4 o'clock. (Monday, September 16, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Martin Giuber, are requested to attend his Funeral This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, from the Residence of his Brother Charles Giuber, No. 128, Wentworth-street, without further invitation. (Tuesday, September 17, 1822)

Died, at his residence on Cedar swamp, (Williamsburgh district) on the 26th ult. Mr. John Scott. (Friday, September 20, 1822)

[Died] at Savannah, on the 12th inst. Mr. Peter E. Borde, aged 23 years, a native of Martinique, but by education, habit and feeling, an American. (Friday, September 20, 1822)

[Died] on the 14th inst. Capt. John Reding, jun. of the brig Hector, of Portsmouth, (N. H.) aged 40. (Friday, September 20, 1822)

Died, in Columbia, (S. C.) on the 17th inst. Mr. Elliott B. Chamberlain, in the 25th year of his age, a native of Massachusetts. (Saturday, September 21, 1822)

[Died] in Fairfield, on the 10th inst. Mrs. Ann Kincaid, consort of Alexander Kincaid, esq. (Saturday, September 21, 1822)

Died, at his residence in St. Matthew's Parish, on the 14th inst. William Caldwell, Esq. in his 54th year. (Monday, September 23, 1822)

Died, in Marion District, on the 14th inst. after a short but painful illness, in the 43d year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Richardson, consort of John Richardson, Esquire. (Friday, September 27, 1822)

[Died] on the 16th inst. at his residence in Marion District, Capt. John Harrell, in the 32d year of his age. He has left a widow and three small children to lament their irreparable loss. (Friday, September 27, 1822)

Married, in Savannah, on the 26th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Meredith, Mr. Augustus Boulleau, of Savannah, to Miss Ann Rebecca Darby, of this City. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

Died, at his residence near Milledgeville, on the 21st ult. Colonel Robert Rutherford. In Milledgeville, on the 13th Mr. Oliver Holman, Merchant of Boston. At Dublin (Geo.) on the 13th Mr. John B. Hines, co-editor of the Milledgeville Journal. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

[Died] in Hamburg (S. C.) after a severe illness, which she bore with Christian fortitude, Mr. Eliza H. Williams, consort of Mr. T. F. Williams, aged 27 years 7 months and six days. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

[Died] on the 24th ult. at Sister's Ferry (S. C.) after a short illness, Mr. Archibald M'Alpin, aged 50 years a native of Glasgow, Scotland, but for a number of years a resident of Georgia and South Carolina. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

[Died] in Darien, (Geo.) on the 23d ult. Mr. James M'Henry, aged 19 years. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

[Died] in Savannah, on the 26th ult. Mr. Stephen Timmons, aged 63 years 9 months. Mr. Timmons for many years past has been a Branch Pilot of Savannah, and was one of those revolutionary characters who aided in the glorious struggles of our own free and happy government. He was a man who possessed a free and open heart, and was distinguished as a patriot and a soldier. He was a native of this State, but at an early period of his life went to Savannah, and has since resided there. He has left a disconsolate widow and four children to bemoan his loss. (Wednesday, October 2, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Chas. and Elizabeth Holmes, are invited to attend the Funeral of their daughter, Susanna Holmes, . . . This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock without further notice. (Saturday, October 5, 1822)

Union Harmonic Society. The Members of this Society are requested to meet at the Baptist Church This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock to pay the last sad tribute of respect to their deceased member Miss S. Holmes. By order R. Telfer, Sec'y. (Saturday, October 5, 1822)

Married, on Thursday evening, the 3d inst. by the Rev. Dr. Palmer, Colonel James Hibben, to Miss Rebecca Theus, daughter of the late Benjamin Stiles. (Monday, October 7, 1822)

Departed this life, on the 29th ult. Master John B. LeCompte, aged 2 years and 6 months, only son of Dr. John P. and Mary LeCompte. This promising child was suddenly snatched from its fond parents arms by that destructive malady the croup. . . . (Monday, October 7, 1822)

[The following is from an issue bound in with the *Courier*:]

Died, on Sunday, the 15th ult. at his residence, in St. Mary's County, (Maryland) the Rev. John Brady, A. M. Rector of St. Mary's and St. Andrew's Parishes in that State, President of the Auxiliary Bible Society in the said Parishes, and formerly Assistant Minister of St. George's Church in this city, in the 34th year of his age. Mr. Brady was a native of this city, and a graduate of Columbia College: an excellent scholar, exceeding well versed in the Greek and Latin classics, and with literature in general, an accomplished preacher; a kind husband and an affectionate parent. . . . [His] vigorous constitution . . . in three days yielded to bilious fever. . . . Mr. Brady has left a wife and several children, a mother, a brother and a sister to deplore his irreparable loss. . . . (Wednesday, October 9, 1822)

Miss Susanna Holmes, departed this transitory existance on the evening of the 3d inst. beloved and respected by all who knew her. An extensive family and numerous circle of friends are left to deplore her irreparable demise. [verses] It is but a few weeks, since God in his infinite mercy was pleased to call from this world her sister: and doubtless they have met, and are now among the angels. G. (Thursday, October 10, 1822)

Died, on the 25th ult. Miss Virginia Olivia Spencer, eldest daughter of the late Capt. Joseph Spencer, after a most severe illness of some weeks, which she bore with much fortitude and resignation. She has left an affectionate mother, brother and sister and a number of friends, to bewail her early removal from time to eternity. (Friday, October 11, 1822)

Departed this life on Wednesday evening, the 25th ult. Joseph Cart, Esq. in the 55th year of his age, a native of Charleston (S. C.) and for many years a respectable citizen of this place. In him were found those amiable qualities which give a zest to domestic life; as a husband, he was kind and affectionate, and as a father, he was careful and attentive, . . . *Augusta Chronicle*. 5th inst. (Friday, October 11, 1822)

(To be continued)

## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM JOHN GRAYSON

Edited by SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

*(Continued from October)*

### CHAPTER VII

I was fairly afloat in politics and public life. For some years the murmur of that contention between North and South had been swelling and deepening which has now reached its natural issue, a war of sections. Up to the embargo system of Mr. Jefferson, the most absurd act of State policy that mortal man ever executed or conceived, the South had been uniformly prosperous. The introduction of the cotton culture had given an immense impulse to her fortunes. The embargo, the war, the protective tariff, stopt or retarded their progress. For all these disastrous measures the South is indebted to Southern politicians. They have always been more vigilant in looking after Federal honours and offices than the welfare of their own people. They ruled in the government by the ready sacrifice of Southern to Northern interests. Their last performance in this way was to fasten the protective tariff system on the Southern States. The protective tariff made the Southern States dependent provinces. It is one of those laws that under the cover of general provisions have a particular and partial application. It proposed to protect American industry, it meant the industry of New England and Pennsylvania. There was no manufacturing in the South to be protected. To establish it the South would require a protecting system against the North as much as the North against England. For all such industrial pursuits North and South are different communities. If it be an evil to America to be manufactured for by Europe, it is as great an evil to the South that her manufacturing should be done in the Northern States. If it would impoverish New England to import her manufactures from Old England, it would equally impoverish South Carolina to obtain her manufactures from Massachusetts. It can make little difference to the South, if she is placed in a ruinous position, whether it be for the benefit of an old or a new master.

The politicians of the South who had supported the first, feeble, steps of the Protective Monopoly perceived their error when it was too late. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie had sustained it in Congress with speeches and at home with pamphlets; they now denounced it in resolutions and barbacue harangues. The tariff men who had come to Congress at the end of the War of 1812 with humble petitions soon came with importunate demands. They contended for a great prize and won it. They made the Southern people their commercial vassals, their growers of raw material

and consumers of second and third rate American goods. The South was no longer permitted to enjoy the benefits of that free trade on which the Federal government was founded, for which the War of 1812 had been fought, and under which the Southern people had prospered during the early period of the Government. They were obliged by a system of laws to turn their trade into Northern Channels, to pay freights to Northern ships, to employ Northern agents and buy goods from Northern Manufacturers. The prosperity of the North advanced with immense strides; the South fell into comparative decay.

The evil of this system of legislative plunder became so great and intolerable that Southern men were indignant and prepared to assert their rights against a one sided policy which was injuring one section of the Country for the benefit of another. The State of South Carolina resolved to submit to this abuse of power no longer. She affirmed that the Federal government had no power over South Carolina which South Carolina had not conferred. She had conferred no power on the Federal government for the promotion of New England interests at the expense of her own. The protective tariff was a sacrifice of Southern to Northern industry. The constitution had been violated. The law violating it was null and void and should not be enforced within her limits.

The doctrine thus proclaimed by South Carolina is the doctrine of nullification. It led to debates among politicians as interminable as the deliberations of Milton's fallen angels in which "they found no end in wandering mazes lost". The doctrine was deemed a heresy by all at the North and by many at the South. It was warmly supported by its adherents. Mr. Webster assailed it. Mr. Calhoun defended it. The more the disputants wrangled the more hopeless grew the dispute. They set out with their faces in different directions and the farther they went the wider they stood apart. They based their arguments on opposite premises, how could they hope to reach the same conclusions?

It is admitted, the South said, that every State has reserved rights, rights withheld from the Federal Government. It is so stated by the Constitution in express terms. If a State has reserved rights, she has some adequate mode to protect them. A mode to be adequate must be within her own countroul. If not, if the mode be subject to the will or discretion of another it is no redress at all and the tenure of her rights is worthless. The rights would not exist. But it is admitted that the rights do exist. The adequate mode to maintain them must therefore exist with them. If a State has this power to maintain her rights she has necessarily the right to decide on the manner in which to exert it. The State determined that when a law of Congress violates her reserved rights the most effective

manner to redress the wrong is to arrest the execution of the law within her limits. In doing this she does the least possible damage to her sister States consistent with justice to herself. If in doing justice to herself some injury arises to others, it is an evil inseparable from a Confederate form of government. A confederacy of States must be a government of consent not of force. To deny that a State may vindicate its reserved rights in its own mode is to make a confederacy a government of force and not of consent. To apply force to a State is to make the States, provinces; to turn the Confederacy into a consolidated government; to affirm that a confederacy of States is an impossible form of polity.

The Southern politicians appealed to the resolutions and report of Virginia and Kentucky in '98 and '99, as sustaining their opinions. Mr. Madison, the author, in part of the report and resolutions repudiated the sense imputed to them. It was replied that, if they did not mean nullification substantially, they were sounding platitudes only, specimens merely of wordy, no meaning, puzzles of the kind that politicians habitually use to perplex the people and delude them. If the resolutions do not mean nullification they mean nothing.

In the North, on the other hand, it was denied that the States have reserved rights independent of the Federal Government. The States, it was said, are in effect counties or provinces only, with certain local regulations and powers subject to the supreme rule of the United States. The United States are one nation not many associated States. The Federal government is a national government, not a confederacy. It would be as absurd for Cornwall to refuse obedience to the government at London, or the city of Marseilles to the authorities at Paris, as for South Carolina to withhold submission to an act of Congress no matter what that act may be. It might abolish her State government and her duty would be obedience. When the constitution says "We the people of the United States" it recognises the people of the whole Country as one people and determines that the will of the majority expressed in certain forms is the supreme law of the land. The Federal government is a consolidated government not a Confederacy. The State governments are antiquated forms maintained for convenience only. It is plain that from premises so various no conclusion could be reached except that in which the Soldier undertakes to solve the question and settle the dispute.

Surely nothing can be more uncandid and false than to confound a State with a county. They are evidently different things substantially and essentially. All reasoning from this or that theory or construction of the Constitution to prove a State and a county the same or a similar community is useless and idle. We cannot by dint of logic change a fact.

The unchangeable fact is that a State of the United States is a substantive power, a distinct people with legislature, judiciary, chief magistrate, treasury, army of militia armed equipped and officered by the State and under her controul. The States in the exercise of certain rights and powers are as independent of each other as they are of the nations of Europe. These rights and powers are among those most important to the wellbeing of a people, the power to regulate by law the relations of marriage and descent, the transfer of property, the punishment of capital offences. In the exercise of these great social and civil rights, the States are Supreme each within its own boundaries. To say that a State so constituted is a county, or like a county, is to trample on truth and common sense in pursuit of party dogmas. It is to assert what was disclaimed expressly and repeatedly by the Federalists who formed the Government. I have heard a friend speak enthusiastically of the sentiment of nationality. He knew no Country but the United States. His sympathies were too large for State limits. . . . It is all a delusion I think. There can be no foundation for any such exclusive sentiment of nationality where there is in truth no nation. The "United States" is only a number of States united by voluntary agreement. To make a nation of them these States must cease to exist as States. So long as they continue what they are every man's first attachment will be to the State of his nativity or adoption. It masters and subdues the larger but more diffusive and feebler sentiment of regard for the Union. This truth is thoroughly established by late events. If there be a class of men in the Country who might forget the State in the General Government, it is the army and navy officers. They are educated by the Government, are in its exclusive service, and represent it abroad and at home. Yet what [have] the Southern officers done in the present conflict between the Federal Government and their States? They have taken sides with their States. They have renounced their commissions, abandoned their old associations and assumed arms for their own people against the government they were accustomed to serve. Those who neglect to do this are accounted infamous. And what have the Northern officers of the Federal army and navy done? The same thing substantially. They adhere to their States. Their States sustain the government at Washington and so consequently do they. Suppose the case reversed and that Pennsylvania or New York should abandon the authorities at Washington. Where would then be the people of New York or Pennsylvania? Very few would remain in the Federal service. The great majority would be where the people of Georgia and Alabama now are, on the side of their States. Can any man doubt it? The result would be as certain, North as South. It is dictated by nature. The human heart proceeds from individuals to the whole not from the whole to its parts. It is more at

home with particulars than with abstractions, with the smaller than larger associations.

"God loves from whole to parts, the human soul  
Must rise from individuals to the whole.  
Self love but serves the virtuous mind to wake  
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake.  
A circle formed, another straight succeeds,  
Another still and still another spreads.  
Home, Children, kindred, friends, the first embrace,  
Our Country next, and next all human race."

A few men of comprehensive sensibilities may place the human race before their Country, as Howard's philanthropy is said to have overshadowed his domestic affections. And so imaginative gentlemen may prefer the Union to the State. But so long as the States exist they will continue to be the first object of affection with the great mass of people who refuse to reverse the order of nature. With them the State government will stand between their firesides and the government more distant and less familiar.

In view of the irrepressible fact that the States are States not Counties; that they are peoples independent to a certain extent of all the world; and in consideration of the inference that inevitably comes from this fact that States so organized and armed will assert their rights, forcibly if necessary, with the certain support of their citizens if they do, it seems to me that our government must of necessity be a government of consent so far as States are concerned and not of force; that force is incompatible with its essential conditions. It would have been fortunate for the stability of the Federal government therefore if the constitution had formally recognized the right of a State to suspend under certain solemn forms the execution within her limits of what she might judge to be an unconstitutional or oppressive law. It would be a partial veto by the State not on the making of laws but on the execution of them—a sort of protest more weighty and efficient than one of words only. It may be safely affirmed that such a power could be used in extreme cases only; that if resorted to factiously, it would fail immediately or ultimately. The right clearly admitted would have furnished to an aggrieved State a remedy for wrong within the Union. It would have been a safety valve for popular discontent giving it time to wear out, if groundless and, if well founded, to be removed by the action of the government immediately or by a general convention. The very knowledge that such a provision exists in the constitution would prevent any such exercise of power by the Federal Government as might endanger its existence. It would render cupidity cautious and the greediness of Sectional legislation more timid and moderate. The belief that a majority in Congress is supreme removed all restraint from its course and the tyranny

of a faction is the unavoidable consequence. The result of attempting to substitute force for consent as the principle of the Government has been the dissolution of the Union.

In the absence of some such formal, expressed, recognition in the constitution of the right of a State to suspend, within her limits the operation of a law deemed unconstitutional, the mass of Southern politicians and people refused their adhesion to the nullifying creed. They held that so long as a State was a member of the copartnership of States she is bound to observe the rules of the copartnership; that to decide whether a law was constitutional or not, is the province of the Courts—in the United States, of the Supreme Court, in the States, of the State Courts; that a convention has no authority to make or abrogate laws, its proper purpose is to construct or remodel governments; that in the exercise of its functions in changing the government of a State, a State Convention may resume all the powers it has before imparted, those entrusted to the Federal government as well as those placed in the government of the State; that to do more would be to go beyond its just powers. It is for legislatures to make or repeal laws; for courts to decide whether laws were constitutional or otherwise; for conventions to form or modify governments. To permit a convention to exercise the powers of legislatures and courts was to establish an oligarchy, a tyranny of the worst kind. A convention would usurp this power if it undertook to nullify a law whether of the United States or the State. In a word a convention of South Carolina might withdraw the State from the Union but could not set aside a law of the United States while the State continued to be one of their number. The Country acquiesced in this opinion and the next effort of South Carolina was, not to nullify, but to secede.

Whatever may be thought of Nullification as a theory existing in the nature of the government or possible in itself, it was not without its effect in practice. It broke down the protective policy for a time. If good faith had been observed, it would have destroyed the high tariff system for ever and prolonged the life of the Republic. There was an immense amount of bluster at Washington. The democratic administration was sustained by a coalition of parties. Mr. Webster and President Jackson were hand and glove. A proclamation was issued which the advocates of a consolidated government delighted to see and which the Whig party zealously supported. A bill giving the President extraordinary powers was passed by Congress. It was called the force bill and was in substance an act to make war on South Carolina. The general at the head of the government was not a man to sleep over his opportunities. He began, in Tennessee, to prepare his battalions for war. He talked of hanging certain Carolina politicians as high as Haman. Moderate and thinking men became

alarmed. An autocracy seemed to be rearing its crest among them. They consulted to find a mode for diverting the threatened calamity and Mr. Clay proposed his compromise. It was accepted by a majority of the two houses and the evil day passed by. The compromise proposed to concede so far to the anti-tariff interests of the Country as to repeal the protective tariff and to abandon the protective policy. The repeal however was to be very gradual. It was to spread over ten years in biennial instalments. The biennial reduction was to be ten per cent only of the excess of duty over twenty per cent. It was only when the tenth year approached that the reduction was to be large. On the tenth year the duties were to be lowered to twenty per cent. This was to continue the permanently settled rate. Every thing went on smoothly while the reductions were small. It was an inconvenience to trade and embarrassed importers. It was complained of but submitted to. But when the tenth year approached and duties under the compromise were to be reduced to twenty per cent as a fixed rate, the tariff men demanded a new tariff. The compromise was trampled under foot by the very men who had formerly offered it, and a new protective tariff was established not less objectionable than the old.

The worst consequence of Nullification was that it produced great divisions and animosities in South Carolina, the more seriously felt because the Society affected was a small one. In some parts of the State parties were nearly equal. The contention separated old friends and dissevered families. It arrayed on opposite sides the most intelligent of her public men. And yet amid all the heat and acrimony of the controversy, it must be said in honour of the people of South Carolina that they fell into no broils and that the discussions in her public journals were decorous compared with those of other States on occasions much less exciting.

Of the conspicuous men marshaled by Nullification in adverse parties, on the one hand, were Hayne, Hamilton, Calhoun, McDuffie, Preston, Turnbull, Rose, Barnwell, Hampton, Hammond and many more; on the other stood, in a list as long, Daniel E. Huger and Drayton and Poinsett and Petigru and Alfred Huger and Yeadon and Elliott and Manning, a man too warm hearted, amiable and excellent, to be a politician at all. Many of the opposed leaders were personal friends. The controversy estranged them. This was a subject of great concern to those of generous and ardent tempers. Manning and Alfred Huger grieved without ceasing and refused to be comforted. Although the conflict cut apart many times, yet many survived the feud and were cherished during its continuance. It was this which served in a great measure to preserve the peace of the State when civil dissension threatened to destroy it.

During the most momentous period of the controversy, when Jackson

sent out his war edict from Washington, Robert Y. Hayne occupied the chair of the Chief Magistracy in South Carolina. Governor Hayne was the grandson of Col. Hayne, the victim of Balfour's brutality in the war of the Revolution. The grandson was distinguished by a happy combination of the qualities that suited the occasion of difficulty and danger in which the State was involved. He had boldness and moderation, firmness and discretion, courtesy and decision of character. His mind was solid and practical; suited by Nature for State affairs; equal to them and not above them—not liable to be carried away from the Sound and useful by pursuits more brilliant but less important. With these qualifications for office he united integrity, frankness, cordial manners, and ardent zeal for the honour and safety of his native State. He had been a not unworthy opponent of Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States. If not the equal of the New England Senator at the bar and forum, he was superior to his antagonist in the conduct and courage that are essential for a leader in public affairs.

The Executive of South Carolina had able supporters. Of Turnbull I knew nothing personally. He acquired great reputation by a series of Essays on the Nullification controversy under the signature of Brutus. He was among the most determined, vehement and uncompromising of the men who advocated extreme measures. Like all men ardent in asserting their own opinions, he was impatient of argument or remark on the part of others. His essays were replied to by a writer of the Union party. There was some pungency about the reply. I don't know that it exceeded the just limits of discussion. But Brutus was not satisfied with the phrases of the enemy and invited a resort to a more pointed and summary logic. The friends of Brutus imputed the offence he had taken to the personalitites of his opponent; his enemies to the force of the argument. The writer at any rate was silenced and the controversy closed.

Hampton was a brave, frank, courteous gentleman, of hospitality as open as it was cordial, to whom all the unfortunate of every party looked for aid and who never disappointed an applicant. He was always moderate in his views, forbearing to his adversaries in politics and intolerant only of meanness and dishonour. He had a tinge of the Old School about him not in urbanity of manners only but in rapping out, occasionally, an expressive form of words more emphatic than evangelical. It seemed to be the natural outbreak of a warm, generous nature and only served to give a certain racy originality to his conversation.

The manners of Mr. McDuffie were cold and austere. He was always grave and apparently absorbed in his own thoughts. He could not unbend. He was not what Dr. Johnson called a clubbable man. His temper was not social. He was impatient of the visits and interuptions which his public station and high character continually imposed upon him. It was

amusing to witness the small regard he paid to those deputations from the great cities which in the times of Biddle and the bank visited Washington and waited on the South Carolina orator to warm his sympathies in their cause. He received them with cold civility and gave little heed to their hints or information, their books, or Statements. He was master of his subject and disdained their aid. He was contending for great principles and cared nothing for the men who were watching their interests only in all their proceedings. It was not for them or their cause that he spoke. I never saw Mr. McDuffie engaged in careless chat during the session of the house. It is common for members to go from desk to desk, to take a chair wherever one happened to be vacant and talk with their brother members freely and indiscriminately. Mr. McDuffie was always in his place, or he would take a seat, near the Speaker's elevated post and survey the house, by the hour, in quiet ruminations. Though not inaccessible to skillful flattery he was rather a proud than vain man. His temperament was more Roman than Grecian in its character.

The merits of leaders were not confined to one party. It is hard to say on which side they preponderated. There was not in all the South a more complete example of the finished gentleman than Daniel E. Huger. He was for many years a distinguished member of the State legislature. It was only during the time when he was in the House of Representatives that it could be said of the house that it had an acknowledged leader. This was indisputably true while he served in it. He was a keen, vigorous, debater, fluent, energetic in delivery, nicely observant of all the courtesies of debate and prompt but never captious in exacting them. He was the guide of the house, a watchful guardian over the legislation of the State to protect it from any departure from justice and elevated principle. Nothing escaped his vigilant attention that could tend never so remotely to stain the State's reputation for honesty and honour. His personal advantages were remarkable. He had the graceful carriage of a fine person, tall, erect, and active. His manners were perfect. He possessed the art which belongs to the thoroughly well bred gentleman only, of putting the young and the Stranger at ease in his company. He practised no devices of popularity, yet his influence was unbounded. He was any thing in the State that he wished—Judge, military chief, member of the United States Senate. It would not convey a correct idea of his position before the people to say that he was a popular man. He was something more. Every young man in the State of Spirit, honour, and ability, was proud of his friendship or favourable consideration and he was always ready to give it. He was a model and example which all desired to imitate and which few or none could equal.

Of the Union party, Poinsett and Petigru were the acknowledged leaders. On the other side, Hamilton and Hayne were the most active, energetic

and influential chiefs. Under the able guidance of these men supported by others both parties were carried through the various drills that attend all popular excitements. They went to great meetings, eat immense dinners and barbecues, heard speeches without number, gave toasts of pungent meaning and passed endless resolutions. The speeches were eloquent beyond measure. If we may judge from the eulogies on them in the public journals; they were hardly inferior to those that the great Athenian "fulminated over Greece" against the Macedonian tyrant. The toasts were pointed and polished, witty and humorous, fiery and scornful. They made immeasurable pledges. Life, fortune and sacred honour were devoted to the cause. The pledgers filled with good cheer were ready for any extremity of suffering, prepared to spend the last dollar and to die in the last ditch. The resolutions were summaries of Constitutional law, the most exact, profound and luminous. Not a village meeting was held which was not at home in all the depths and shallows of the organic law of 1788, its history and provisions, extent and limits. Marshal never gave his opinions with half their confidence. The State became for a time a great talking and eating machine. The appetites and lungs of the conflicting parties never failed, nor faltered until the compromise adjusted by the joint efforts of Clay and Calhoun settled the controversy, composed the minds and relieved the stomachs of the people. It was like the handful of dust thrown on contending swarms of bees, as Virgil describes it. The tumult ceased in a moment. The combatants went back to their ordinary pursuits. The luckless seekers after State offices who had stumbled into the minority resumed their calculations resolving never again to be found on the wrong or less numerous side, while the victors quietly divided the spoils.

It was just after the adjustment of the nullification controversy by Mr. Clay's fallacious compromise that I was sent to Congress from the election district of Beaufort and Colleton, the district of Lowndes, Hamilton and Barnwell. I had been a member of the State legislature frequently, of the Senate once, of the house of Representatives many times. In no election have I ever asked for a vote, or distributed liquor, or expended money to secure a voter. I mention this not as a claim to any personal merit, but as an evidence of the purity that prevails in our State elections. I have heard that those of the city are exceptions; that they are degraded by corruption; that the elective franchises are marketable articles; that mayors and senators and members of Congress have paid heavily for their successes. But it is not so in the Country, if it be true of the city. I can say, at least, from some personal experience, that a candidate before the people of the parishes has no need to employ corrupting influences to obtain success.

*(To be continued)*

## THE VILLEPONTOUX FAMILY OF SOUTH CAROLINA<sup>1</sup>

An Outline Genealogy and History of the First Five Generations

Compiled by I. HEYWARD PECK<sup>2</sup>

1. *Pierre* (1) *Villepontoux* was born at Berzerac, near Guyenne, France in 1643. He married Jeanne Revaission, who was born in 1658.

Children: i-iii born in France or England; v-vi in New Rochelle, N. Y.

† 2 i Marie (2) b. 1683

† 3 ii Peter b. 1685

4 iii Jane b. 1686. Probably died young.

5 iv Isabel b. 1691. Probably died young.

† 6 v Susannah b. 1694

† 7 vi Rachel b. 1696

† 8 vii Zachariah b. 1698

*Pierre Villepontoux* was a Huguenot, who removed to England to escape the persecution of the French Catholics. In the list of "denizations" at London, England, Mar. 5, 1690/1, appears the record: "Peter Villepontoux and Jane, his wife; Peter, Marie, Jane his children". (*Hug. Soc. of London*, vol. 18) He was evidently accompanied by a sister, for on Mar. 16, 1693 is recorded the baptism at the Church of Glasshouse Street and Leceister Field, London, of Elizabet, daughter of Jacques Castanet and Jeanne Villepontoux, of Berzerac, near Guienne. (*Hug. Soc. Lon.*, vol. 29) He emigrated shortly thereafter, as he appears in New York City as an attorney-at-law in 1692 and was admitted freeman there Apr. 13, 1692.

*Pierre* soon removed to the Huguenot settlement of New Rochelle, N. Y. where he purchased 71 acres of land from David Bonnefoy, adjoining the King's Highway on the west and south and extending to the Pelham line. His house was near the present right of way of the Harlem Branch of the New Haven R. R. In 1695 and 1696, he served as elder of the French

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from manuscript records in the Probate Court and with the Register of Mesne Conveyance, Charleston; marriage and death notices from Charleston newspapers; "The Register of Christ Church Parish," this *Magazine*, XVIII-XXII; "Parish Register of St. James Santee," this *Magazine*, XV-XVII; *Register of St. Philip's Parish, 1720-1758, 1754-1810*; *Federal Census of 1790, South Carolina*; publications of the Historical Commission of South Carolina; publications of the Huguenot Society of London, and of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina; *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*; *Calendar of Council Minutes Province of New York*; *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Office of Secretary of State, New York*; and many other published sources, including histories and genealogies.

<sup>2</sup> Of 45 Hill Park Avenue, Great Neck, New York.

Huguenot Church at New Rochelle but was deposed by Pastor Bondet. In 1701 he complained to the Governor that the Pastor failed to baptize a sick child of his, so he had it done by the Pastor of the French Church in New York City. He had previously, Aug. 18, 1699, filed a petition with the Governor complaining of Pastor Bondet.

His name appears in 1698 among those who took the oath of allegiance at New Rochelle and in the same year, when the census was taken there the following record appears: "Peter veallponton age 55: Jean veallponton, is wiff, age 40; Marye veallponton age 15; Peter veallponton age 13; Jean veallponton age 12; Lessabell veallponton age 7; Susan Veallponton age 4; Reacheall veallponton age 2; Manveall, a negro man, age 50".

In 1700, a neighbor of his in New Rochelle, David Bourguet, was murdered and the grand jury indicted Peter Villepontoux for the murder, which the Judge of the Court of Sessions immediately dismissed. The Governor's Council of New York made investigation of the matter. At a hearing, Jan. 2, 1701, appeared his son, Peter, and negro servant, who were examined and discharged. Whereupon a proclamation was issued offering a reward for information as to the murderer.

By one of the first deeds of record in the town of New Rochelle, in 1701, he disposed of his land there and moved to South Carolina, where he had already acquired property. An extract from this deed reads as follows: "To all Christian People to whom these presents shall come or whom it shall or may concern, Peter ville pontoux of New Rochelle, Gentleman, sends greetings in our Lord God Everlasting. Know ye that the sed ville pontoux, alias Jeana Vivasin his wife for the consideration of the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds (paid by Gregory Gougar, merchant of New York) . . . . Manor of Pelham, last bought of David de Bonnepay, on the west side of the highway to Boston with all the houses, buildings, gardens, orchards, etc . . . ." Executed May 30, 1701.

The last record found of Peter Villepontoux in New York was a petition of the Governor, dated Nov. 11, 1702, complaining of the old Sheriff of Westchester County for not putting in execution a writ of execution against Jeremiah Fowler and desiring that the same be placed in the hands of the new Sheriff.

In South Carolina, he settled in St. James Parish, Goose Creek, near Charlestown, where already in Jan. 1694 the assessment of inhabitants gave property as follows; "Peter Villepontoux, Madame Elizabeth Gaillard —2,234 pounds". His name also appeared in Charlestown on the accused list for illegal voting as a "Dissenter", 1692-1704. (Hirsch, *Huguenots of S. C.*, p. 122n.) He died subsequent to 1711, when his son Peter was called Jr.

2. *Marie* (2), eldest daughter of Pierre and Jeanne (Revaisson) Villepontoux, was born in France or England in 1683 and died in South Carolina on Apr. 2, 1771. She married Oct. 29, 1710, Gideon Faucheraud.

Children: (Faucheraud)

- i Jane (3) died before 1753
- ii Mary mar. John Paul Grimké

Children; (Grimké)

- 1. Mary (4)
- 2. Ann
- 3. John Faucheraud

- iii Charles died 1764

mar. Jane, dau. of George Smith

Children; (Faucheraud)

- 1. Elizabeth (4)
- 2. Mary mar. John Alston.

1691—Denized in London.

1698—Listed in census at New Rochelle, age 15 years.

1701—Summoned as a witness in murder charge against father in New Rochelle.

1748/9—Will of Susannah Villepontoux names sister Mary Faucheraud, brother Gideon Faucheraud and nieces Jane and Mary Faucheraud.

The will of Gideon Faucheraud, dated 1753, with codicils of 1764 and 1766, proved 1770, names sister Ann DuPont; granddaughters Mary and Elizabeth Faucheraud, Mary and Ann Grimke; wife Mary Faucheraud; son Charles Faucheraud, daughter Mary Grimke.

The will of Mary Faucheraud, widow of Gideon, of Berkeley County, dated 1763, proved 1771, names daughter Mary, wife of John Paul Grimké, jeweler of Charlestown; nephew John Moore; brother Zachariah Villepontoux; sister Rachel Russ; Elders of the French Church; children of John Paul Grimké,—John Faucheraud, Mary and Ann Grimké; son Charles Faucheraud. In codicil dated 1764, as son Charles Faucheraud had died, his daughters, Mary Alston and Elizabeth Faucheraud are named.

1771, Apr. 5—Zachariah Villepontoux proved the codicil of the will of Mary Faucheraud. (Rec. Court of Ordinary, Charleston.)

3. *Peter* (2), eldest son of Pierre and Jeanne (Revaisson) Villepontoux, was born in France or England in 1685 and died in Christ Church Parish, S. C., Apr. 25, 1748. He married a daughter, possibly Frances, of the Rev. Paul and Frances L'Escott, who predeceased him.

Children:

- † 10 i Paul (3)
- † 11 ii Anna

- ‡ 12 iii Deusel
- ‡ 13 iv Frances
- ‡ 14 v Francis
- ‡ 15 vi Benjamin

1691—Denizeden in London.

1698—Listed in census at New Rochelle, age 13 years.

1701, Jan. 2—Appeared as a witness in murder charge against his father in New Rochelle.

1711, Aug. 29—Peter Villepontoux, Jr. named executor of will of Paul Targuet.

1720, Feb. 1—Peter Villepontoux mortgaged to Peter Manigault a tract of land west of Medway River, independent of Mt. Parnassus and about a mile from it. (Mesne Convey, Rec., Charleston.)

1724, Oct.—Served on Grand Jury in Charlestown.

1733—He became interested in the mechanical threshing of rice and in this year received a patent from the Assembly for a rice threshing machine, which was later renewed for seven years to 1743. The regular price for the same was £60 and with four horses it cleaned 2000 lbs. of rice a day. He was a persistent advertiser but it was apparently hard to sell and at certain seasons it was offered at half-price. In 1734 only one was being used and that on James Island. Its price was high and it could be easily copied. It was improved in 1734, so that 5000 lbs. could be cleaned a day with two horses, while with four horses 1000 lbs. an hour could be handled.

1740—The estimated loss suffered by P. Villepontoux in the Charlestown fire of 1740 was listed at: Currency 1147-00-00; Sterling 163-17-1; Kings Bounty 54-03-07; American Bounty 16-09-03.

1748/9, Jan. 13—Named executor under will of sister, Susannah Villepontoux.

His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Paul L'Escott, who served as Pastor of the French Huguenot Church in Charlestown from Dec. 1700 to March 1719, and again from 1731 to 1734. During the interval he returned to England where he served as Pastor in the church at Dover. The will of Frances L'Escott, widow, was dated Aug. 24, 1752, and proved Sept. 26, 1753. She left to her grandson, Francis Villepontoux, negro boy Anthony; grandson, Benjamin Villepontoux, £100; granddaughter, Frances Villepontoux, negro woman Molly with all her children; grandson, Paul Villepontoux, "1 shilling sterling, if demanded, in full of all right, claim, etc." To Mary Mazyck, wife of Isaac Mazyck, merchant of Charlestown, £100; Ann, wife of Henry Gray, £200 and silver coffee pot; Susannah Fountaine, £5. "The rest to my grandchildren Francis, Benjamin and Frances Villepontoux". Executors: Isaac Mazick and Zachariah Villepontoux.

1748, Jun. 8—Inventory and appraisal of Estate of Peter Villepontoux made by John Eldders, Thomas Lee and Henry Gray. Farm implements, household furniture and slaves totaled £3925.

The will of Peter Villepontoux of Christ Church Parish was dated Mar. 24, 1747/8 and proved Apr. 29, 1748. It directs the sale of plantation on James Island and a "lott", near the Quaker Meeting House, to pay debts if necessary; names daughter Frances Villepontoux and two youngest sons Francis and Benjamin Villepontoux. Executors are to manage plantation in Christ Church Parish and "lott" to northward of Charlestown for the advantage of the three above named children during their minority and then sell when the youngest arrives of age. The will further reads: "I give and bequeath to my sons Paul and Deusel Villepontoux the sum of 5 shillings." Executors: Brother Zachariah Villepontoux, nephew John Moore, friend Jonathan Drake. Witnesses: James Grindlay, James Poyas, Susanne Trezivant.

6. *Susannah* (2), daughter of Pierre and Jeanne (Revaïsson) Villepontoux, was born in New York City or New Rochelle, in 1694, and died unmarried in Berkeley County, S. C., Jan. or Feb. 1749.

1698—Listed in census at New Rochelle, aged 4 years.

Will of Susannah Villepontoux of Berkeley County was dated Jan. 13, 1748/9 and proved Feb. 9, 1749. Bequests consisted of £20 to Elders of the French Church in Charlestown for use of the French poor of St. Philips Parish; mourning rings of £15 value to brothers Gideon Faucheraud and Zachariah Villepontoux, sister Rachel Russ, niece Elizabeth Moore; £300 to sister Mary Faucheraud, also gold sleeve buttons, bed and appurtenances; £200 to niece Mary Grimké; furniture, wearing apparel, etc to niece Jane Faucheraud, three nieces Mary Grimké, Elizabeth Moore and Frances Villepontoux, and niece Mary Faucheraud. Remainder to be equally divided between nephew Benjamin Villepontoux and niece Frances Villepontoux, when they attain 21 years or marry. Executors: Brothers Peter and Zachariah Villepontoux. Witnesses: Charles Faucheraud, Jno. Moore, Rachel Russ.

7. *Rachel* (2), daughter of Pierre and Jeanne (Revaïsson) Villepontoux, was born at New Rochelle, in 1696 and died in Christ Church Parish, S. C., Nov. 23, 1771. She married first, as a second wife, in 1725, John Moore of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish; second, Nov. 24, 1737, in St. Thomas and St. Denis, Abijah Russ; third, Jan. 8, 1764, Rev. Bartholomew Henry Himeli.

Children: (By first husband—Moore)

i John (3) b. Jul. 4, 1726 d. Jun. 24, 1788

ii Rachel bapt. Feb. 1728 d. Apr. 1728 (St. Philips Par)

iii Elizabeth mar. Mar. 1749/50 John Neufville (St. Philips Par.)

1698—Listed in census at New Rochelle, age 2 years.

1748/9—Named together with daughter Elizabeth Moore in will of sister Susannah Villepontoux.

1747—Her son, John Moore, named as an executor of her brother's, Peter Villepontoux, will.

Her death notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* mentioned that she had a sister who died in April, aged 88 years, and left a brother aged 73 years. The sister and brother referred to were Marie (Villepontoux) Faucheraud and Zachariah Villepontoux.

8. *Zachariah (2)*, youngest son of Pierre and Jeanne (Revaïsson) Villepontoux, was born in New Rochelle, in 1698, and died at St. James Parish, Goose Creek, S. C. about 1780/1. No record has been found of the name of his wife, who predeceased him.

Children:

† 17 i Peter (3)

† 18 ii Zachariah

† 19 iii Sarah

1698—Not listed in the census at New Rochelle, although born that year, as established from the notice published on the death of his sister, Rachel (Villepontoux) Himeli. In Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, among records of longevity, is given: "Died since 1797—Zachariah Villepontoux of Charleston, aged 87 years". It would appear that the dates have become confused.

1734, June—The Mesne Conveyance Office records a lease and release to Zachariah Villepontoux from William Livingston of 500 acres.

1740, April—Listed as an original member of the Goose Creek Friendly Society or River Club.

1744—He appears on the list of subscribers to the Free School for the poor at Goose Creek, engaging to pay £50 each year for three years. This was the second largest pledge. Among the other subscribers appear the names: C. Foucheraud £100, G. DuPont £7, Gideon Foucheraud £10.

1748—Named executor in the wills of his brother, Peter Villepontoux, and his sister, Susannah Villepontoux.

1753—Named executor in will of Frances L'Escott.

1755—On April 7th, Zachariah Villepontoux, of St. James Parish, Goose Creek, made affidavit, under oath before Alexander Stewart, Esq., Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County, that he had served as vestryman and church warden there for 20 years and that no public register had been kept in the parish for the past eighteen years.

1763, Apr. 30—By deed, Zachariah Villepontoux to Zachariah Villepontoux, Jr., two tracts in Berkeley County of 500 and 350 acres.

1768—In the account book of Thomas Elfe, of Charlestown, appears the entry: "For Henry Gray & Zachariah Villepontoux, the amount of their bond—£500".

1769, Aug. 4—He qualified as administrator for the Estate of Peter Villepontoux, as next of kin. This Peter is thought to be his son.

1771, Apr. 5—He proved the codicil of "Marcy Faucheraud", presumably his sister Marie.

Zachariah Villepontoux resided at Mt. Parnassus Plantation, Goose Creek, which was famed for the bricks which it produced. All of the bricks for St. Michael's Church, Charlestown, were furnished by him. The house was burned during the Civil War.

There was little left there . . . besides the giant oak, that must have been already a big tree when Villepontoux built his house in its shade two centuries ago, and the still beautiful avenue that leads over a gentle swell of ground for a mile towards Goose Creek. Dwarfed stumps of ruined oaks show where it would have stretched for a mile and a half farther, to the gate on the property line, if the war had not come and ended the care . . .

Beside the big oak is a tumbled mass of broken brick from the house covered with moss and wild rose vines, and back of it a line of cedar stumps along the terrace that overlooked Back River. A few fine magnolias and clumps of hardy exotics show how extensive the gardens were. In the tangle of vines you find oddly shaped pieces of brick: hemispheres, and rounded bases, parts of finials that some ingenious plantation artisan baked in the plantation kilns to ornament vanished gateposts. This, like Medway to the north of it, was once a great brick plantation, as the wide extents of the old clay pits bear witness. . . . [After the war the Tennents, who acquired it in 1842, sold Parnassus, as the house had been burnt down] and it passed into strange hands. One group of owners seem to have systematically looted it. They cut the walk of cedars and for the brick in them, tore down the ruins of the house, the walls of the garden and the burying ground, and the very foundation of a tomb. The site of the little graveyard was forgotten, until in 1930 Miss Tennent pointed it out; then a piece of stained marble, projecting from a mound of earth proved to be part of a stone of the violated grave erected by the Commissioners of the Charlestown Orphan House, on account of her benefactions, to Teresa Julia de Tollenare.

Out in the negro burying ground, now lost in the pine woods, is another stone, which marks the grave of an old nurse and bears the inscription: "To Bella, a faithful servant".

After John Bennett used the big oak as one of the landmarks in the crytogram of his "Treasure of Peyre Gaillard," some liberal minded trespasser dynamited a big cedar stump near the site of the house, in search of fabulous jewels. He must have worked by day . . . [as the plantation was said to be guarded by night by Villepontoux, who was said] to take particular care of a spring that bears his name. Scary negroes sent at night for a bucket of the cool "blue" water, from under the protecting canopy of brickwork, often threw away water and bucket both, in terror of the return along the cedar rimmed terrace.—*A Day on Cooper River*, edited by Louisa Cheves Stoney (Columbia, 1932), pp. 19-21.

The will of Zachariah Villepontoux of the Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, dated Sept. 30, 1779, and proved Jan. 19, 1781, left to his son, Zachariah, the plantation "whereon I dwell", together with three other tracts, the whole 748 acres, a silver watch, case of "Pistolls", broad sword and all house furniture; to grandson, Zachariah Villepontoux, negro girl Molly; to grandson Peter Villepontoux, negro girl Patty; to grandson, Charles Tollinare, negro girl Jenny; to granddaughter, Loveridge Villepontoux, negro girl Molly; to Margaret Dunlap £500 sterling; half of all the residue of personal estate to son, Zachariah Villepontoux; the other half to executors in trust for daughter, Sarah Tollinare; directions for setting up and administering trust funds. Executors: John Paul Grimké, Charles Cantey, John Faucheraud Grimké. Witnesses: Elizabeth Coachman, Edward Drake.

1785—"Issued 13th of May 1785 to the Honorable J. F. Grimké, for the Estate of Mr. Zachariah Villepontoux, for One Pound, 2s/9d Stlg for 5 cord of wood supplied Continentals in 1780. App. account audited. Principal £1-2-9. Annual interest £0-1-7" (No. 256, Lib. Q, *Stub Entries to Indents*, Rev. claims)

10. *Paul* (3), eldest son of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux, married Jun. 12, 1746, at St. Philips Parish, Mary Gantlett, per license, by Rev. Robt. Betham.

Children:

- 21 i Frances (4) bapt. Apr. 26, 1747 (Christ Ch. Par.)
- 1 22 ii Paul bapt. Apr. 8, 1750 (Christ Ch. Par.)
- 23 iii John bapt. Dec. 28, 1758 (St. James Ch., Santee) d. Nov. 13, 1763 (Christ Ch. Par. Register)

1747/8—Left 5 shillings in his father's will.

1748, Mar. 13—Frances L'Escott of Charlestown, widow, for love and affection and £10 currency conveyed to grandson, Paul Villepontoux, certain slaves.

1750, Apr. 8—Paul Villepontoux was listed as an "Overseer" at baptism of his son Paul.

1752—Left 1 shilling in will of grandmother, Frances L'Escott.

1760, Feb. 5—Paul Villepontoux and Sarah Edmonds were witnesses to marriage of John Norman and Elizabeth Bealer. (Christ Ch. Par.)

1770, Feb. 19—Agreement with Paul Villepontoux to repair Glebe House at Stephen's Church, Santee. (St. Stephens Par. Rec.).

11. *Anna* (3), eldest daughter of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux, married Apr. 24, 1745, Christ Church Parish, Henry Gray.

Children: (Gray)

- i Peter (4)

Peter Villepontoux deeded to Henry Gray 300 acres of land and 270 acres of marshland in Berkeley County. (Mesne Conveyances, book AA, 449)

1752—Named in will of grandmother, Frances L'Escott.

1768—"For Henry Gray and Zachariah Villepontoux, the amount of their bond—£500." (Acct. book of Thomas Elfe, Charlestown)

1792—Will of her brother, Francis Villepontoux, names nephew, Peter Gray.

12. *Deusel* (3), son of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux, died probably between 1747 and 1752.

1747/8—Left 5 shillings in his father's will.

1752—Not mentioned in will of his grandmother, Frances L'Escott, although all his living brothers and sisters were named.

13. *Frances* (3), daughter of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux.

1747—Named as a minor in father's will.

1748/9—Named as a minor in will of aunt, Susannah Villepontoux.

1753—Named in will of grandmother, Frances L'Escott.

14. *Francis* (3), son of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux, died in St. Stephen's Parish, Santee, in 1792. He married Judith Elliott, who was born in 1737 and died at Charleston, July 29, 1798, in 60th year. (*City Gazette*)

Children: (none)

1747/8—Named as a minor in father's will.

1753—Named in will of grandmother, Frances L'Escott.

He was a planter and builder of St. Stephen's Parish, Santee, where he also served as church warden.

The following are from minutes of St. Stephen's Parish, Santee:

1764, May 7—Building committee agreed for 150,000 brick from Joseph Palmer to be made the size of Mr. Pontoux moulds.

1766, Jun. 14—The above bricks were rejected and contract made with Charles Cantey for 150,000 brick, "the size of the moles to be equall in Bigness Mr. Zacheys Villepontoux".

Received from Francis Villepontoux—£150.

1767, Jul. 12—Paid cash to Francis Villepontoux, "C. W."—96-5-11.

1767, Nov. 13—Cash paid Axson and Pontoux out of subscriptions received in part of woodwork ..... £510-7-3.

Cash paid Axson and Pontoux in full for the	
brick work this 13th Nov. 1767 .....	538-0-0
	<hr/>
	£1048-7-3

1768, Apr. 4—Francis Villepontoux elected church warden.

Sept. 14—Agreement with Messrs. Pontoux and Axson to do woodenwork on gallery for £250.

1769, Mar. 27—Francis Villepontoux elected church warden.

Apr. 17—Francis Villepontoux made a subscription by discount.

1770, Feb. 19—Francis Villepontoux elected church warden.

1770, Aug. 6—Francis Villepontoux settles his accounts of funds received as church warden with his successors.

1773, Jun. 1—Agreement with Francis Villepontoux to build a store house and milk house under one roof 12 ft x 25 ft for £70, he finding nails and shingles, with four windows and proper shelves.

1773-1777—Served as churchwarden at St. Stephen's

1777, Mar. 31—Payment made to Francis Villepontoux of £22.

Dalcho's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* states: "Upon a brick at the south side of St. Stephens Church is inscribed, 'A. Howard Ser. 1767'; and on another 'F. Villepontoux Ser. 7, 1767'; the names of the architects".

1788—"Issued 2nd Feb. 88 to Fran\* Villepontoux £24-17 Stg. Carp" work done by him and his negroes at Haddrels Point. App. a/ from the Comm'r. Int. 34-9" (No. 1596, Liber Y *Stub Entries to Indents*, Rev. claims)

The will of Francis Villepontoux, of St. Stephens Parish, dated May 31, 1792, proved Oct. 19, 1792, bequeaths to wife, Judith Villepontoux, the use during life of certain negroes which, on her death, are left to his brother, Benjamin Villepontoux. On wife's death, certain personal property, cattle, horses, etc are to become the property of his nephew, Peter Gray. Sole executrix: wife. Witnesses: James Sinkler, Robert King, John Peyre.

The will of Judith Villepontoux, "widow of Francis Villepontoux of St. Stephens Parish, Planter", dated Feb. 11, 1796, proved Aug. 3, 1798, bequeathed to friend, Ann, wife of Dr. William Lehre, physician, certain named negroes and also the whole estate real and personal. Executors: Dr. William Lehre and wife, Ann. Witnesses: John Rudolph Switzer, John Werfunger, Christian Smith.

The portrait of Judith Elliott, Madame Villepontoux, is in the Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston.

15. *Benjamin* (3), son of Peter and —— (L'Escott) Villepontoux died Oct. 27, 1792. Benjamin Villepontoux of Charlestown married Apr. 1, 1766 (License, Mar. 6, 1766), Jane DuPont, spinster, of St. Peter's. (Records of Col. Isaac Hayne) She was a daughter of Abraham and Jane (DuPre) DuPont.

## Children: (two known)

30 i Frances Susannah (4) bapt. Feb. 26, 1792 (St. Philips Par.)

31 ii Maria W. b. 1776. d. Savannah, Ga. Oct. 21, 1819, aged 43 years. (dau. of late Benj. of Charlestown)

1747/8—Named as minor in father's will.

1748/9—Named as minor in will of aunt, Susannah Villepontoux.

1753—Named in will of grandmother, Frances L'Escott.

1765—Witness to a will in Goose Creek.

1766—Marriage settlement. Benjamin Villepontoux and Jane DuPont, spinster, under 21 years. Benjamin Villepontoux, merchant of Charlestown, to Cornelius DuPont and Gideon DuPont, Jr., gentlemen, both of Colleton County, bond £10,000. On marriage, Benjamin Villepontoux will receive a considerable estate: 21 slaves, cattle, land, etc. . . .

1770, June 4—Indenture. Benjamin Villepontoux, late of Charlestown, merchant, now of St. Stephen's Parish, planter, and Jane, his wife (late Jane DuPont), of one part and Cornelius DuPont and Gideon Dupont, Jr., both of Colleton Co., gentlemen, of the other part £10,000 currency.

1767-71—Gave mortgage for £10,000 to Cornelius and Gideon DuPont.

1772—Advertized his business as a factor in country produce.

1785—"Issued the 14 May 1785 to Mr. Benjamin Villepontoux for four hundred and twenty three pounds four shillings and 5 pence sterling for balance of account and pay and substenance due him as per Resolve of General Assembly Passed 19th Mar. 1785. Principal £423-4-5 Annual interest £29-12-6" (No. 207, Book R, *Stub Entries to Indents, Rev. claims*)

1786—"Issued 6 May 86 to Mr. Benjamin Villepontoux, Admr. for the Est<sup>a</sup> of Richd Bolton deed for £60 Sterling for a house impressed for Col. Maham's Cavalry. App a/audited. Principal £60 Int. £4-4" (No. 1101, Lib. Y, *Ibid.*)

1787—Named an executor of will of his cousin, Zachariah Villepontoux.

1790—Federal census lists Benj. Villepontaux, as residing in St. Philip and St. Michael Parish, Charlestown, with household of two males over 16 years of age, five females and ten slaves.

1790—Charlestown City Directory lists Benjamin Villepontoux as a factor at 5 East Bay.

1792, May 31—Named as a beneficiary in will of brother, Francis Villepontoux.

1793—*South Carolina Almanac* of this year lists Benjamin Villepontoux as a Warden of the South Carolina Society.

1795—Apr. 8—As Justice of Peace, B. Villepontoux administered oath for Revolutionary Claim. (*Accts Audited of Rev. Claims*)

17. Peter (3), son of Zachariah Villepontoux, died in St. John's Parish, Berkeley, in 1769. He married Sarah —.

## Children:

I 35 i Peter (4)

1769, July 19—Sarah Villepontoux, widow, and Zachariah Villepontoux named to administer estate of Peter Villepontoux, late of St. John's, Berkeley, as next of kin.

1769, Aug. 4—Zachariah Villepontoux qualified as administrator of estate of Peter Villepontoux. (Records of Court of Ordinary)

1779—Will of Zachariah Villepontoux names grandson, Peter Villepontoux.

18. *Zachariah* (3), son of Zachariah Villepontoux, died in St. John's, Berkeley, in 1788. He married Loveridge, probably the daughter of Jonathan (2) and Mary (Loveridge) Drake. Loveridge Villepontoux married at Congregational Church, Charleston, Dec. 30, 1790, William Godbar.

## Children:

I 37 i Drake (4)

I 38 ii Zachariah

I 39 iii William D.

I 40 iv Benjamin

I 41 v Sarah Loveridge

I 42 vi Elizabeth Sutherland

1763, Apr. 30—Deeded two tracts of land in Berkeley Co. by father.

1779—Named in father's will.

1785—"Issued 14 Dec. 1785 to Mr. Zach<sup>a</sup> Villepontoux £22-8-2 St<sup>r</sup>. Sundry provisions for public use. App a/audited. Principal £22-8-2½ Int. £1-13-4" (No. 621, Liber Y, *Stub Entries to Indents*, Rev. Claims)

Will of Zachariah Villepontoux, St. John's Parish, Berkeley, planter, dated Dec. 27, 1787, proved Jan. 26, 1788, names wife, Loveridge, who may live either on Goose Creek or St. John's Plantations during widowhood; bequeaths to four sons: Drake, Zachariah, William and Benjamin, all land in St. John's Parish and St. James, Goose Creek; to be divided into four tracts, and "in order to avoid disputes", they are "to ballot", "the one of age and the others as they come of age". Remainder to be divided among four sons, daughters (Sarah Loveridge and Elizabeth Sutherland) and wife Loveridge. Executors: "esteemed friends and relatives", John Faucheraud Grimké and Benjamin Villepontoux and two sons, Drake and Zachariah Villepontoux. Witnesses: Matthias Shipich, Med. Dr. Christian Fendley, Peter Gwan.

19. *Sarah* (3), daughter of Zachariah Villepontoux, married Charles de Tollenare.

## Children: (de Tollenare)

- i Charles (4) born before 1779
- ii Theresa Julia b. 1784; d. unmarried, Cordesville, S. C., Aug. 30, 1816.

1776, Jan. 1—Marriage settlement between Sarah, daughter of Zachariah Villepontoux and Charles John James De Tollenare, late of Nantes, France.

Will of Theresa Julia de Tollenare, dated 1815, proved 1816, leaves all to father, Charles de Tollenare, for life. On his death, bequests are made to Mrs. Constantia Wigfall and her grandchildren, Constantia, Sarah and William Moore Wigfall (children of Mrs. Harriet Wigfall, deceased); to Mary Ann Aspasia Delafonting, daughter of Fidelle Boisguard and her sisters, Nenon, Josephine and Camilla; to Sarah and Eliza Villepontoux, daughters of my Uncle Zachariah, or, if they die without issue, to their brothers William Drake Villepontoux and Benjamin Villepontoux. Others named are Mrs. Eliza Kohne; daughters of cousin Fidelle Boisguard; Mrs. Frances Moore; Julia, daughter of John Elias Moore; Cousin Tervis de Tollenare. Burial requested at Mt. Parnassus, Goose Creek Plantation, "formerly my grandfathers, where my mother and brother are laid". Her father qualified as executor.

Will of Charles de Tollenare of St. Johns Parish, planter, dated 1816, proved 1821, left all to male issue of nephew Louis Francis de Tollenare; lacking male issue, one half to female heirs and one half to niece (his sister) Fanny, wife of Henry Ducondray Boisguard.

1779—Will of her father establishes trust fund for daughter, Sarah Tollenare, and names grandson, Charles Tollenare, as a beneficiary.

"Departed this life at Cordesville, St Stephens Parish (St. Johns Parish) Aug. 30, 1816, in her 33rd year, Miss Theresa J. De Tolanaire, who leaves an aged father." A gravestone on Goose Creek Plantation of Zachariah Villepontoux reads: "As a Testimonial of their gratitude For The Christian Munificence of — J. De Tollenare — which they preside — Orphan House — The Co — Have caused this Monu — over her remains — Blessed are the Merciful for they shall —"

The name de Tollenare was scratched on a window pane of the dwelling house, with the name Drake. Sarah's husband, Charles de Tollenare, was mentioned in Ramsay for his age. (S.C.H.&G.M., XL, 35.)

22. *Paul* (4), son of Paul and Mary (Gantlett) Villepontoux, was baptized Apr. 8, 1750, Christ Church Parish, and died Jun. 17, 1774.

Sureties at baptism: Miss Tookerman, Robt. Gibbs, brother Jacky.

Died June 17, 1774, Paul Villepontoux, a gunner at Fort Johnson. (So. Ca. & Amer. Gazette)

35. *Peter* (4), son of Peter and Sarah (—) Villepontoux, was born prior to 1779 and died in St. Andrew's Parish, Mar. 11, 1799. He married May 27, 1790, at the Congregational Church, Charlestown, Sarah, daughter of Joshua Lockwood.

Children:

- 1 43 i Zachariah (5) b. probably 1791
- 44 ii (unknown)
- 45 iii (unknown)

1779—Named in will of grandfather, Zachariah Villepontoux.

1779, Mar. 11—Died in St. Andrew's Parish, Peter Villepontoux, after a four-day illness. Left a widow and three children. (*City Gazette*)

37. *Drake* (4), son of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux, died between 1827 and 1829. He married May 27, 1790, at the Congregational Church, Charlestown, Mary, daughter of Joshua Lockwood.

Children:

- 46 i Joshua (5), bapt. Oct. 25, 1792 (Records of Cong. Ch.) died prior to 1827.
- 47 ii Anna Maria, bapt. Oct. 27, 1802 (*Ibid.*) died prior to 1827.
- 48 iii Susan M., married —— Wheeler.
- 49 iv William D.
- 50 v Benjamin

1787—Named an executor of father's will.

Will of Drake Villepontoux, dated Apr. 25, 1827, proved Feb. 19, 1829, provision for daughter, Susan M. Wheeler; whole estate except certain negroes allotted to 2 sons, to wife for her natural life, then to two sons, William D. and Benjamin Villepontoux; if sons and wife die, negroes to go to daughter Susan Wheeler, or her issue. Executrix: wife, Mary Villepontoux; executors: two sons, W. D. and Benjamin Villepontoux, each to act when he arrives at 21 years. Witnesses: M. Alison, D. R. Lockwood, Susan C. Alison, Wm. F. Youngblood.

1794, Feb. 4—Thomas Osborne, Sheriff, to Antoine Michel de la Jonchere, plantation of 1728 acres, under bond to John Dawson from Zachariah and Drake Villepontoux, June 1, 1785. This was Mt. Parnassus Plantation. (*Mesne Convey.*, Bk. P6, p. 497.)

38. *Zachariah* (4), son of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux. 1779—Named in will of grandfather, Zachariah Villepontoux.

1787—Named in will of father, as a minor.

1790—Federal census, St. James Parish, Goose Creek, records "Oillepontoux, Zach." with a family of three males over 16 years, one male under 16 years, no females, one other free person, 44 slaves. It is thought that

the four males refer to Zachariah and his three brothers. His father had died and his mother married again during the year.

1794, Feb. 4—Thomas Osborne, Sheriff, to Antoine Michel de la Jonchere, plantation of 1728 acres, under bond to John Dawson from Zachariah and Drake Villepontoux, June 1, 1785. This was Mt. Parnassus Plantation. (Mesne Convey., Bk. P6, p. 497.)

39. *William D* — (4), son of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux, of St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, died between 1820 and 1821, unmarried.

1787—Named in will of father, as a minor.

Will of William D. Villepontoux, of St. John's Parish, Berkeley, dated Jan. 15, 1820, proved Jan. 18, 1821; left entire estate to sisters, Sarah L. McCawley and Elizabeth S. Carnes. Executors: brother-in-law, Henry L. Carnes and sister, Sarah L. McCawley. Witnesses: Benj. Salomon, Alex. M. Knight, Eleazar Waterman, Esq. Proved before Eleazar Waterman, Esq., Ordinary, Georgetown Dist.

40. *Benjamin* (4), son of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux, of St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, died between 1848 and 1853. He married Eliza —.

Children:

55 i William (5) Wheeler

56 ii Zachariah

57 iii Benjamin

1787—Named in will of father, as a minor.

Will of Benjamin Villepontoux, of St. John's Parish, Berkeley, planter, dated Dec. 5, 1848, proved Jan. 29, 1853; left estate in trust:  $\frac{1}{4}$  for his wife, Eliza Villepontoux and, after her death to be divided among his children:  $\frac{1}{4}$  to son, William Wheeler Villepontoux;  $\frac{1}{4}$  to son, Zachariah Villepontoux;  $\frac{1}{4}$  to son, Benjamin Villepontoux. Executors: friends, Richard Philips and William Meres; son, William Wheeler Villepontoux. Witnesses: John B. Irving, F. Windham, E. French.

41. *Sarah* (4) *Loveridge*, daughter of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux, married — McCawley.

1779—Named in will of grandfather, Zachariah Villepontoux.

1787—Named in will of father.

1820—Named, as Sarah L. McCawley, in will of brother, William D. Villepontoux.

42. *Elizabeth* (4) *Sutherland*, daughter of Zachariah and Loveridge (Drake) Villepontoux, married at Charleston, Mar. 2, 1819, Henry L. Carnes, Esq.

1787—Named in father's will.

"Eliza Pontoux and Henry L. Carnes, both of Georgetown, were married at Charleston, Mar. 2, 1819."

1820—Will of her brother, William D. Villepontoux, names her as Elizabeth S. Carnes, and appoints her husband an executor.

43. *Zachariah* (5), probable son of Peter and Sarah (Lockwood) Villepontoux, was born in 1791 and died Feb. 19, 1815. Zachariah Villepontoux of St. John's Parish married at Charleston Oct. 25, 1810, Miss Mary Ann Godber of Charleston. She died at Daniels Island, Mar. 31, 1813.

"Died Feb. 19, 1815, in his 25th year, a dutiful son, kind master, and affectionate friend". (*City Gazette*.)

#### UNIDENTIFIED VILLEPONTOUXS

##### *Betsey Villepontoux*

Married, Charlestown, Aug. 12, 1784, James Nelson, Esq., one of the Wardens of the city. (*S. C. Weekly Gazette*)

*Charlotte Manby Villepontoux* b. 1774, d. Mar. 9, 1844. She married, as a spinster of Charlestown, at St. Philip's, Charlestown, June 1, 1797, William Miles, son of Thomas and Anne (Miles) Heyward, planter of Prince William's Parish.

Children: (Heyward); baptisms at St. Philips Ch., Charlestown.

i Anne Miles, bapt. Nov. 28, 1798. Mar. Col. James Cuthbert

ii William, bapt. Apr. 24, 1801. Mar. Mary Augusta Barron.

iii Thomas, mar. Charity Wilson.

iv John, bapt. Nov. 20, 1807 Mar. 1827 Constantia Smith Pritchard.

v Daniel, mar. 1st, Anne Maxey; 2nd, Elizabeth Barnwell Rhett.

The inscription on her tomb in cemetery of Stoney Creek Independent Church, Prince William Parish, reads: "Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Charlotte M. Heyward, who departed this life, March 9, 1844, in the 71st year of her age".

According to family tradition, she was a daughter of Zachariah Villepontoux of Goose Creek.

##### *Harriet Villepontoux*, spinster,

Married St. Philip's Parish, Charlestown, Jan. 11, 1794, William Neyle.

##### *Margaret Villepontoux*

Died 1784. Married Gideon Faucheraud, son of Gideon and Anne (Goodbe) DuPont, who was born Mar. 31, 1755. No issue.

##### *Mary Ponteaux*

Buried St. Philip's Church, Charlestown, Feb. 14, 1800.

*P. Villepontoux*

Federal census of 1790 lists in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County "P. Villepontoux & Mrs. Castell" with a household of 2 males over 16 years, 1 male under 16 years, 6 females and 40 slaves.

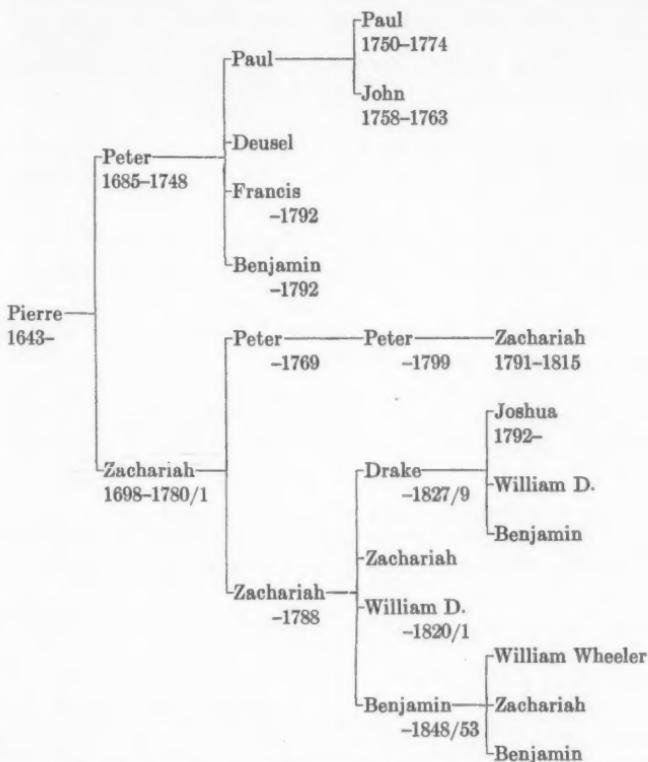


CHART OF THE MALE DESCENDANTS OF PIERRE VILLEPONTOUX

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE  
GREENVILLE MOUNTAINEER OF  
GREENVILLE, S. C.

Contributed by J. M. LESESNE

*(Continued from April 1947)*

[Married] on 13 ult. by Rev. Berry, Mr. Thomas Cook to Miss Elizabeth Cothrum, all of this district. (October 3, 1829)

[Married] on Thursday last by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. Thomas G. Scott to Miss Elizabeth Crawford, all of this district. (October 10, 1829)

[Married] on Sunday last by Rev. Mr. Gibson, Mr. David J. Goodlett to Miss Martha Hansell, all of this district. (October 10, 1829)

[Died] at the residence of her mother near this place on 12th Miss Hester Ann Hughes, age 22. (October 24, 1829)

[Died] in Henry County, Ga., on 22 ult. Mrs. Eliza Spencer, wife of Mr. Amosa Spencer and daughter of the late Thomas Crayton of Augusta, Ga. (October 24, 1829)

[Married] on Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Wesley Brooks of Abbeville to Miss Melissa T. Duncan of this town. (October 24, 1829)

[Died] in Spartanburg on 21st inst., Burdett L. Evetts. (October 31, 1829)

[Died] in Pendleton on 24th inst. Gen. John McMillon, age 65. (October 31, 1829)

Died on Friday 20th at Hickory Grove the residence of his father, in Pickens District, Mr. James H. Earle, 30 years old. (November 28, 1829)

Died in this town on Wednesday last, Mrs. Isabella Newby, Consort of James Newby, 21 years of age. (December 5, 1829)

Married in Edgefield, on 17th ult., by Rev. N. W. Hodges, Andrew P. Butler to Miss Susan Ann, daughter of Colonel Eldred Simpkins. (December 5, 1829)

Died at the residence of his mother near Saluda Gap, Captain Milendar Merritt, eldest son of Wheaton Merritt, age 33. (January 16, 1830)

Married on Thursday last by Rev. Mr. Johnson, Captain Abbot Williams to Miss Frances, daughter of John Young, all of this District. (January 23, 1830)

Married on 14th., by Rev. Mr. Bomer, James C. Rowland to Miss Mary, only daughter of Robert Wilkie of Spartanburg District. (January 23, 1830)

Died on 30th. ult., Mrs. Eliza B. Thompson, Consort of Honorable Waddy Thompson, age 55. Left husband and 11 children. (February 6, 1830)

Departed this life on 5th., in lower part of this District, Mrs. Sarah Ragsdale, age 100. Member Methodist Church for 70 years. (February 27, 1830)

Married on 7th., by Alfred Perritt, Mr. Jefferson Thomas to Miss Polly Sullivan, both of this District. (February 27, 1830)

Married on 11th., by S. Pearson, Mr. Thomas Crump of North Carolina to Miss Ann Maria Moore, daughter of late General Thomas Moore of Spartanburg District. (February 27, 1830)

Married Tuesday last by Rev. W. B. Johnson, Mr. Joseph A. Young to Miss Augusta McGregor, all of this District. (March 6, 1830)

Married on 14th., by Rev. Hudson, Mr. Jehu Howell to Miss Emily Waddill, all of this District. (March 20, 1830)

Married on 18th., by David Jackson, Mr. Jacob Ponder to Miss Lauriett, eldest daughter of George Russell, all of this District. (March 27, 1830)

Married on 25th., by J. H. Goodlett, James Burnes to Mrs. Mahaly Hammond, all of this District. (March 27, 1830)

Died on 1st., Mrs. Caroline Wickliffe, Consort of Captain William E. Wickliffe, age 28. Left 4 children and husband. (April 3, 1830)

Married on 23 ult., by Rev. Mr. Kimsey, Mr. William McCarrell of this District to Miss Lilla Murray of Buncombe County, N. C. (April 10, 1830)

Married in Spartanburg on 29th. ult., by James E. Henry, Mr. William Saunders to Miss Lavenia Low, all of that District. (May 7, 1830)

Married on 18th. ult., by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. Joel Charles to Miss Lucinda B. Garrison, all of this District. (May 28, 1830)

Married on 27th ult., by Rev. Mr. Hudson, Mr. John M. Oliver to Miss Thirza Waddill, all of this District. (June 4, 1830)

Died at Edgefield on 22nd, Mrs. Susan Ann Butler, wife of Colonel A. P. Butler and daughter of Colonel Eldred Simpkins, age 19. (June 4, 1830)

Died at his residence in Laurensville, Ga., Major John Alexander formerly a resident of this District. Age 75. Active Revolution soldier and big Presbyterian. (June 11, 1830)

Died at house of Major John S. Rowland, the Rev. Thomas Bowar of Spartanburg, age 60. Native of Essex County, Va., great Baptist. (June 18, 1830)

Died on 11th, Mrs. Nancy Cunningham, Consort of Mr. William Cunningham of this District, age 50. (July 16, 1830)

Died at his residence in Union District on 6th ult., Mr. Samuel Selby, age 101. (July 16, 1830)

Died at his residence in this District, Hewlett Sullivan, age 67, on July 11th. Moved from Virginia to Laurens, fought in Revolution. Moved to Greenville after the Revolution. (August 6, 1830)

Died in town on Wednesday last, Theodore, infant son of Mr. R. Burnham, age 7 months. (September 17, 1830)

Married Saturday last by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Sterling T. Combs to Miss Celestia F. Meals, both of Augusta, Ga. (September 24, 1830)

Married in Spartanburg on 5th by Rev. James Rainwaters, John Poole, Sheriff of Spartanburg District to Miss Cede, daughter of David Dantzer. (October 15, 1830)

Married on Tuesday Evening by Rev. Mr. Johnson, Richard Mays, Esq., of Edgefield, and Miss Eliza A. Williams, daughter of Dr. T. B. Williams of Greenville. (October 29, 1830)

Died at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., on 20th ult., Lieutenant James H. Wright, a native of this state and graduate of the Military Academy in 1829. (November 5, 1830)

Died in this District on 6th, Mr. David Lester, age 89. (November 12, 1830)

Died on the 23rd David Sloan, son of Mr. J. W. M. Blesingail, age 9 months. (November 29, 1830)

Married on 28th ult., by Rev. Gibson, Mr. Sterling H. Lester of Gainesville, Ga., to Miss Mahala H., eldest daughter of Colonel George Fleming of this town. (January 7, 1831)

Died on Sunday last, Mr. Phineas Spafford, a native of Vermont, but for a number of years a resident here. (January 7, 1831)

Died on 20th Leonard Tarrant, age 64. (January 7, 1831)

Died in New London, Conn., on 4th ult., at home of Captain G. W. Rodgers, her son-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Alexander Perry, age 62. Relict of the late Christopher R. Perry and mother of Commodore O. H. Perry. Her body removed to home of her son Captain M. C. Perry in Newport, R. I. (January 7, 1831)

Married on 22nd by Joseph Cox, Mr. George Poor to Miss Tempey Holland, all of Anderson District. (March 31, 1831)

Married in Tennessee, Mr. Benjamin McCary late of S. C. to Miss Eunice Cogswell from Concord, Mass., but late of Greenville, S. C. (May 21, 1831)

Died in this town on Thursday last, Mrs. Ann Logan, age 77 years. (June 11, 1831)

Married in Anderson on 16th by Rev. Richard B. Cater, Mr. Van A. Lawhon to Miss Lucretia, daughter of Mr. John Archer. (June 18, 1831)

Died at his residence in this District on May 3 last, Blackman Ligon, age 75. In Revolution received wound at Guilford and fought at Yorktown. (June 25, 1831)

Died in Spartanburg on April 12 last, Mrs. Hannah Gray, widow of Captain Peter Gray. (July 2, 1831)

Died on 1st at her residence near here, Mrs. Nancy Fincher, age 79.  
(July 23, 1831)

Married on 19th by J. H. Goodlett, Mr. James McNeely to Miss Juriah Wilson, all of this District. (July 23, 1831)

Died in Spartanburg on 23rd, George eldest son of Mr. Wm. Walker, age 14. (July 30, 1831)

Died Thursday last John H. Goodlett, age 42. Left wife and 2 small children. (August 6, 1831)

Died yesterday (Friday 9th) Martha Ann Folker, daughter of Richard Burnham, 7 mos. (September 10, 1831)

Married on 11th by Rev. Mr. Hale, Mr. Samuel M. Murphy to Miss Harriet G. Spencer. (September 17, 1831)

Married on the 29th ult., by Rev. Berry, Mr. Jefferson Chapman to Miss Leaner Reece, all of this District. (October 8, 1831)

Married on 10th by Rev. S. Vandiver, Mr. John Dickerson to Miss Deborah Burroughs, all of Anderson District. (November 19, 1831)

Married on 8th by Rev. Mr. Shadwick, Mr. James Taylor to Miss Virginia Philips, all of this District. (December 17, 1831)

Married on 22nd by Rev. Berry, Mr. Stephen Whitlock to Miss Nancy Davis, all of this District. (December 31, 1831)

Married on 22nd by Jonathan Deweese, Mr. Vincent Austin to Miss Mary Kirby, all of this District. (December 31, 1831)

Married on Tuesday last by Rev. Hudson, Mr. Wm. Cunningham, Senior to Mrs. Eliza Benson, all of this District. (January 14, 1832)

Married on 12th by Rev. Gibson, Mr. Wm. S. Barnett to Miss Minerva Thruston, all of this District. (January 21, 1832)

Married on 12th by Rev. Gibson, Mr. John T. Hannon of Spartanburg to Miss Maria Thruston of Greenville District. (January 21, 1832)

Married on Thursday last by Rev. Gibson, Mr. Wm. Hornbuckle to Miss Mary Blasingame of Greenville District. (January 21, 1832)

*(To be continued)*

## NOTES AND REVIEWS\*

### REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

*All Saints' Church, Waccamaw. The Parish: the Place: the People. 1739-1948.* By Henry DeSaussure Bull. (Charleston: The Historical Activities Committee of the South Carolina Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1948. Pp. 106. Illustrations. Parish register. \$4.50.)

From the standpoint both of Church and State, Mr. Bull by his labor of love has put us into debt, as also the South Carolina Society of Colonial Dames, for the publication of this valuable history. The book, in attractive form and type, is divided evenly into two parts: the history and description of the parish, place and people; and a copy of All Saints' Parish Register from 1819 to date, with copies of inscriptions on mural tablets; and lists of clergymen and officers. No parish records previous to 1819 are extant. The old vestry book found in the sand after the storm of 1893, to which Mr. Bull refers, has recently been copied under direction of the Registrar of the Diocese of South Carolina.

In the first of Mr. Bull's chapters, "Beginning and Growth," there is a geographical description of the "Neck", its early settlement, and the sparse ministrations before All Saints' was "taken off" from Prince George in 1767—the last but two, St. Matthew's and St. David's, of the twenty-two colonial parishes. A chapel was built as early as 1739 on a site given by Thomas George Pawley. It was many years after the passage of the Act separating All Saints' and calling for a new church, that this was finished and consecrated in 1816. The parish shared in the renaissance of Bishop Dehon's episcopate, and in the following years when the Reverend Hugh Fraser was rector. The author tell us also of the celebrated old plantations and of their many famous occupants and their life in those days: Allstons, Flaggs, Hugers, Westons, Wards. There are interesting stories of distinguished visitors: Cornwallis, Lafayette, Washington, President Monroe.

The second chapter, concerning the period from about 1830 to 1875, is called "Expansion and Collapse." Except for a few sad years after the War between the States, it is coeval with the remarkable ministry of Reverend Alexander Glennie. This expansion is indicated by the erection of many churches and chapels; the parish church, the second of wood, was taken down and a new, larger, and beautiful church of masonry erected, the third on the same spot, and consecrated in 1845; a Chapel of Ease in

\* This department will print queries concerning South Carolina history and genealogy. Copy should be sent to the Editor, South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C.

the lower part of the parish was altered and enlarged in 1841; and in 1854 another Chapel of Ease, called St. John the Evangelist, was built near Laurel Hill in the northern part of the parish. But this was not all—some thirteen chapels for the negroes were built, the most famous, St. Mary's at Hagley, was more beautiful than many parish churches.

These chapels were significant of the incomparably successful work among the negroes by Mr. Glennie, which Mr. Bull pictures in detail. The ten negro members with whom he began rose to two hundred and eighty-nine. The expansion of this period is seen again in the fact that Mr. Glennie had assistants for most of the time—clergymen or lay catechist. Many of the lay people also assisted Mr. Glennie, as did Mr. Plowden Weston. Reverend Dr. A. T. Porter, who studied under Mr. Glennie and assisted him, tells of the "Collapse" which came very suddenly; he kept up his work until 1862, when everything like order was broken up. For years now the work of the parish was practically at a standstill. Mr. Glennie went to Prince Frederick's and then to Prince George's. "Many plantation chapels were taken over by the negroes and soon resounded with barbaric shouting."

The third and last chapter, tells of "Rebuilding and Recovery." Regular ministrations of the church began again with the rectorship of Reverend William H. Barnwell in 1876. Recovery was carried forward by Reverend LeGrande F. Guerry, the bishop's father, who also began to regather the negroes into the church. Later he reported seventy negro communicants and a parochial school of fifty. He built well upon Mr. Glennie's "faithful remnant."

This work is represented today by Holy Cross and Faithful Memorial Church with one hundred and sixty-four communicants and a parochial school of about two hundred under Reverend W. E. Forsyth. Here too is located Camp Baskerville established a few years ago for summer conferences for colored people. Towards the end Mr. Bull calls the roll of those laymen (there have been as many women) who have served the church loyally for the past fifty or sixty years: Allston, Rosa, Hasell, Nesbit, Flagg, Lachicotte, Ward, and many others.

During Mr. Galbraith's rectorship the beautiful church erected in 1845 was destroyed by fire. The church was promptly rebuilt, the fourth on the same spot, not so large but similar and beautiful. Mr. Bull might have ended with a more optimistic note if his modesty had not prevented him from bringing the history down through his own happy and successful rectorship.

The book is embellished with five illustrations: the present All Saints' Church; its predecessor, burnt in 1915; the interior of St. Mary's, Hagley; and pictures of Reverend Mr. Fraser and Reverend Mr. Glennie.

Because of her keen interest in the history of the state, the volume is most appropriately dedicated to the memory of Sarah Conover Holmes VonKolnitz.

A. S. T.

*Charleston: A Gracious Heritage.* By Robert Molloy. (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv, 311. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This handsome book should be welcomed by visitors to historic Charleston as a fitting memento of happy days in a unique town. Written by a novelist of distinction, a former literary editor of the *New York Sun*, this latest appreciation of Charleston by a native son, shows excellent craftsmanship. As might be expected of a successful novelist, Mr. Molloy has not wasted golden hours in research among unprinted records trying to unearth new facts for an ancient theme. He has, however, had access to practically everything in print concerning Charleston, and has happily combined his gleanings to convey an individual interpretation of the beloved city. Against a backdrop of enchanting gardens, famous houses, catastrophic phenomena and bloody wars, he moves a succession of savages, colonists, pirates, patriots—many men and a few women—in a procession that spans almost three centuries.

True, there are errors, such as the confusion of the White Meeting House at Dorchester with the one which probably was not white on Meeting Street. His oleander blossoms have four petals instead of the usual five. South Carolina had baronies but no barons; and John Rutledge, although a member of the Convention of 1787 was hardly "one of the chief designers of the Constitution." But the overall picture of Charleston is both true and kind, and those who wish their history undiluted may read ponderous tomes, dig into dusty records, and amuse themselves by pinpointing the errors of others. Robert Molloy's *Charleston* will not excite the jealousy of professional historians, unless they covet a charm of style which few disciples of research ever achieve.

Like other books in the Century City Series, *Charleston* is copiously illustrated with aquatints, frontispiece and end papers by the late E. H. Suydam, whose drawings add beauty and interest to the text.

ANNE KING GREGORIE

*Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765.* Edited by Samuel Cole Williams. (Marietta, Georgia: The Continental Book Company, 1948. Pp. 197. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

In all that remarkable literature of the frontier, currently being ably exploited by scores of historical novelists, there is no more thrilling narra-

tive than that of Henry Timberlake, who made a brave journey among the red people beyond the Alleghanies in the winter of 1761-62, and later, as a result thereof, crossed the sea with the most spectacular entourage imaginable. This is his story of those travels.

When several years of bloody warfare were terminated by a treaty between the Cherokee and the English on the Holston River in November 1761, the Cherokee emperor insisted that an envoy accompany the returning Indians to the Over Hill towns to explain and cement the peace. Although Timberlake knew he might become a sacrifice to Indian displeasure or treachery, he volunteered for the mission and induced Sergeant Thomas Sumter and an interpreter named McCormack to accompany him. In order to chart the watercourses leading to the Cherokee lands, Timberlake elected to travel by river, sending his servant overland with the Indians.

In a canoe provisioned for ten days' travel and loaded with some £20 of trade goods to exchange for horses for their return, the little party set out down the Holston on November 28, 1761. Nineteen days of unconscionable hardships—freezing cold, painful hunger, and waist-deep wading in icy currents—brought the three men to a condition of extreme peril. Their food was reduced to an ounce of meat and very little flour. One gun was damaged seemingly beyond repair and Sumter lost the other one overboard. Timberlake despaired to the point of suicide, thinking that they were many days' journey from any habitation, in forests where at that season not a root or berry was to be found, and surrounded by hostile northern Indians from whom they had reason to expect scalping rather than succour. Unlike frontiersmen of fiction, none had a tomahawk—and none knew how to throw one. It was only through Timberlake's repeated efforts and final success in repairing the one rifle that they were provided with enough meat to continue.

After twenty-two gruelling days, his party arrived in the Indian lands and remained there for three months. Timberlake observed and noted the customs and habits of his red hosts and learned a smattering of their tongue. In March 1762, he returned to Williamsburg, Virginia, accompanied by several important Cherokees. Here his adventures might have ended, had not Ostenaco, one of the chiefs, insisted on visiting the king, "my father". Soon the young ensign found himself escorting three Indians to London where they caused a considerable commotion, were feted widely, were visited by Oliver Goldsmith, and sketched by Joshua Reynolds.

This book recounts both journeys in some detail. Timberlake's visit to London aroused malicious charges that he exploited the red people by exhibiting them for personal financial gain. The book was written as

much to refute these slanders as to relate hitherto unknown facts about the western conflict and the life of the Cherokee. As a defense of the author's actions, it is convincing and pleasantly acid; one believes indeed that Ensign Timberlake pawned his watch, sold a gold seal at a severe loss, and finally traded off a pair of scarlet breeches to raise funds for his own transportation back to America after being dismissed by ungrateful government officials. But the passing years have made the pros and cons of his personal behaviour of much less importance than his fresh, candid report on Indian life on the southern frontier. Today his work stands as a grand adventure story and an invaluable source of Cherokee lore.

The memoir was published originally in London in 1765, the year that he died. Translations were published in German and in French, but it was not until 1927 that an American edition appeared. This volume is a reprint of that 1927 edition, retaining its introduction, notes, and index. The book has special significance for South Carolinians because it gives a revealing glimpse or two of Thomas Sumter, later to gain fame in the Revolution as a frontier soldier.

GEORGE F. SCHEER

#### ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Doctor Margaret Denny of the University of Rochester is the author of three recently published articles of interest to South Carolinians: "The Royal Society and American Scholars" in the November 1947 issue, and "Naming the Gardenia" in the July 1948 issue, of *The Scientific Monthly*; and "Linnaeus and his Disciple in Carolina: Alexander Garden" in the February 1948 issue of *Isis: An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and Civilization*. She has generously donated reprints of these articles to the Society.

*The Georgia Historical Quarterly* of March 1948, contains "Paul Hamilton Hayne Writes to the Granddaughter of Patrick Henry," edited by D. M. McKeithan. The article transcribes two letters written by the poet, 1854 and 1859, to Lucy Dorothea Henry, later Mrs. Octave Laighton. The originals are now in the Poe Shrine, Richmond.

#### FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Loyalism in South Carolina, 1765-1785, by Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., is now ready for publication. The date will be announced later.

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, edited by his granddaughter, Mrs. A. D. Oliphant of Greenville, and the late Dr. Alfred Taylor Odell of Furman University, has grown into four volumes, of which the first is expected to appear shortly. The untimely death of Dr. Odell in September,

was a severe blow to the monumental undertaking, but fortunately all copy is now ready for the printers, and Mrs. Oliphant is carrying forward the work as rapidly as possible.

The book on the Charleston Jewish community now in preparation for publication in 1950, will be an historical-sociological study of the Jew in the life of Charleston, from the earliest times (first record 1695) to the present, with especial emphasis on Jewish group life as integrated with the general community, and the participation of Jews in the economic, cultural, religious, and other aspects of the city's history. As one of the earliest settlements of the Jew in North America, Charleston's Jewry as a community dates from the founding of Beth Elohim synagogue in 1750, so the book will be published as part of the bicentennial of Jewish life here. The historical side of the work is being done by Mr. Charles Reznikoff. The sociological phases are being handled by Dr. Uriah Z. Engleman, who is studying the demography, institutions and attitudes. The historic importance, long continuity, and manageable size of the Jewish community here has provided an opportunity for this unique approach, a sort of combination "Middletown-history."

#### THE SOCIETY

Students of the American Revolution will be interested to learn that the Society has received from John Bennett, the well-known author, a valuable collection of historical notes on the war in South Carolina, including much material on the loyalists. In addition to notes on the Revolutionary period, there is a series on the old church bells of Charleston, and another on Negroes and Gullah. The many files, notebooks and scrapbooks have been carefully indexed by Mr. Bennett, so the various items are readily available. The note which follows below indicates the quality of Mr. Bennett's gift:

#### *Note on Gullah*

The first effort to reproduce in print the peculiar patois of the Low Country South Carolina Gullah negro appeared in the *South Carolina State Gazette*, September 25th, 1794, third page fourth column, as follows:

*Anecdote:* Four negroes were carrying a corpse to the grave at a place where it was customary to give the bearers gloves; but these four were not presented any. About midway from the house to the churchyard Cuffee turned slyly round and thus accosted his brother bearer: "Caesar, you got-e grove?" "No. Ask Cato." "Cato, you got-e grove?" "No. Ask Toney." "Toney, you got-e grove?" "No; dam a grove me got!" "Well, then," says Cuffee, "Bring he down an' let he go besel!"

The grim humor of the anecdote is not its only interest to the student of dialect. It evidences that in the vocalization of some Africans occurred the deficiency in enunciation giving rise to the use of the softer labial sound of 1, rather than the

stronger lingua-palatal sound of *r*, and the reverse, which is notable in more cultured Oriental peoples. For instance: a Japanese gentleman will invite an English-speaking friend to "runch at the hoter-*r*;" while the Chinese say "lat" for "rat," "lun" for "run," and "all light" for "all right;" the Japanese invariably substituting *r* for *l*, while in China is the reverse. This peculiar substitution among African tribes has led to both ethnological and geographical confusion, even the "infallible" Encyclopedia Britannica refers to the dense forest which covers Gola-land as "the great Gora forest." The last word in the anecdote, "be-sel," bespeaks old English usage, it having been the routine vocal recitation of the alphabet in children's classes, for the pupils to begin with the enunciation of "A" by shouting in unison "A, by itself, A," to distinguish A used as an independent article from A used in verbal construction. "Be-sel" meant "by himself."

#### REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Information on documents, letters, art objects, and records relating to Jews of Charleston, will be appreciated by Thomas J. Tobias, chairman of the Bicentennial Committee, 56 Broad Street, Charleston.

Mrs. Ben C. Hough, Jr., genealogist, Waxhaws Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 309 Elm Street, Lancaster, S. C., reports that the chapter is studying this year "Our Revolutionary Ancestors," and sends this query: "Major Robert Crawford, buried in Waxhaw Presbyterian Cemetery, b. in 1728, d. Oct. 8, 1801, had ten children: James; Mary, who married Dr. Samuel Ferguson Dunlap; Sarah, who married Capt. Isaac. Donnom; Isabella, who married Thomas White; William, who married Mary Phifer; Robert; Jean; John, who married Anne Beard Phifer; Martha, who married Col. Thomas Williams; and Elizabeth, who married William Vaughn. The descendants of Mary Dunlap, Sarah Donnom, and John Crawford are known to us. We want data on James, Isabella White, William, Martha Williams, and Elizabeth Vaughn."

Another query on the Crawford family has come from Emmy Jeanne Thomas Clement, 6612 Andasol Avenue, Van Nuys, California, who desires information on the Revolutionary services "of the many (so called) James Crawfords of S. C., and especially the one known as Capt. James Crawford of the Waxhaw Settlement."

